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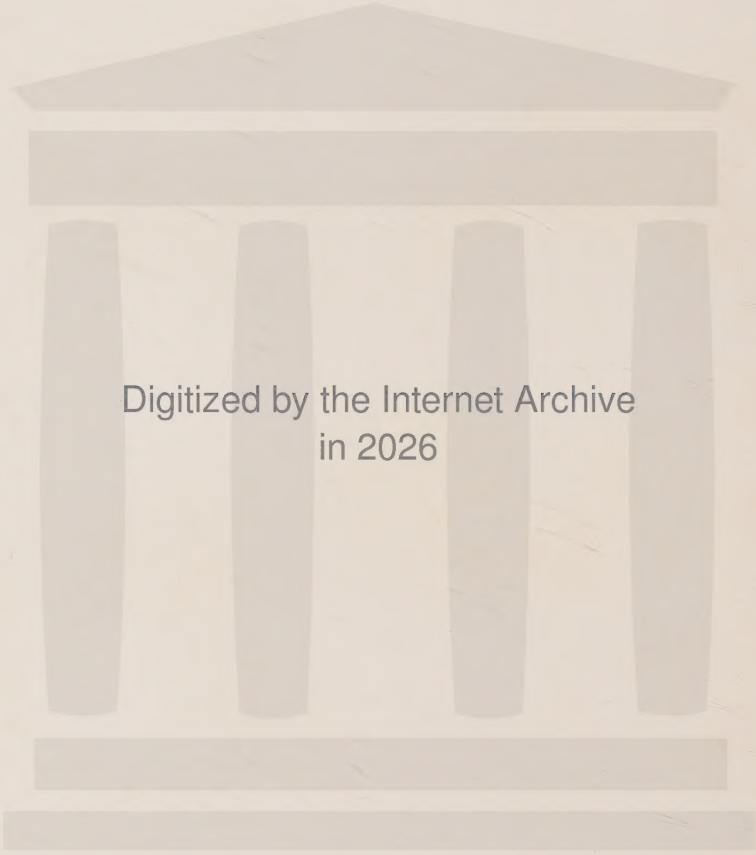
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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph. D., LL. D. · EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF THE EAST

BY ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, LL. D.
PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY
OXFORD UNIVERSITY

WITH GIBBON'S HISTORY OF ARABIA AND
A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

REVISED AND EDITED BY
CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, M. A., M. D., Ph. D.
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL HISTORY
AND ARCHAEOLOGY, THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

VOLUME I

ILLUSTRATED

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PUBLISHERS .·. NEW YORK

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The publishers desire to acknowledge permissions given by Longmans, Green & Co., The Macmillan Company, The Macmillan Company of Canada, G. P. Putnam's Sons, Charles Scribner's Sons, James Pott & Co., D. Appleton & Co., Oxford University Press, and Dodd, Mead & Co.

THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

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The editors and publishers desire to express their appreciation for valuable advice and suggestions received from the following: Hon. Andrew D. White, LL.D., Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L., LL.D., Hon. Charles Emory Smith, LL.D., Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne, Ph.D., Charles F. Thwing, LL.D., Dr. Emil Reich, William Elliot Griffis, LL.D., Professor John Martin Vincent, Ph.D., LL.D., Melvil Dewey, LL.D., Alston Ellis, LL.D., Professor Charles H. McCarthy, Ph.D., Professor Herman V. Ames, Ph.D., Professor Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., Professor David Y. Thomas, Ph.D., Mr. Otto Reich and Mr. Francis J. Reynolds.

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Henry Cabot Lodge

INTRODUCTION*

TO THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

BY HENRY CABOT LODGE, PH.D., LL.D.

THE purpose of this work is to give in compact form the history of all modern nations and of the states and civilizations from which they have sprung. Each volume is a work of authority by a writer of eminence. All not originally written especially for this series have been carefully edited, and, wherever necessary, the narrative has been brought down to the present day by additions and notes embodying the results of the most recent research and investigation. The intention is to offer in these volumes a general survey of history in a compendious and agreeable form. The value of the material thus furnished and thus arranged is undoubted; but much more depends upon the manner in which it is presented, the deductions drawn by the author, and the use that is then made of it by the reader than upon the facts and observations recorded. In other words, the true importance of any history or of any collection of histories lies in the conception of the development and attainment of man which is therein set forth or which we ourselves are enabled to draw from it. What we mean by the word history and what it says to us as a whole are more essential than any disconnected knowledge of details, however accurate and however minute. Our first step, therefore, on beginning any study of original sources or of historical writings ought to be as clear a definition as possible of our own conception of history itself, as well as of its meaning and purposes, assuming, as we must, that it possesses both these attributes.

It has been wisely and wittily said that "one fact is gossip and two related facts are history," an aphorism very characteristic of the scientific age in which it was uttered. But the saying, with

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all its truth, like many other brilliant generalizations, may easily be pressed too far and contains an implication which is anything but sound. It may be quite true that collections of unrelated facts, whether trivial or important, or of facts presented without any philosophical sense or any "look before or after," merit their definition as "gossip"; yet we should do very wrong to underestimate this same "gossip," upon which, in common parlance, the name history is so often bestowed. History of the "gossip" variety is, to begin with, the foundation of all other history, upon which it will be necessary to say something more later. "Gossip," moreover, whether light or serious, is in its best forms, especially in the guise of memoirs, biographies, and personal anecdotes, extremely entertaining. While it is read, perhaps, only for the sake of reading, it helps us to enjoy life and may also teach us to endure it. It has, too, a real value in an instructive way, although how great that value shall be depends upon him who receives the information rather than upon the writer thereof. Even if one gathers from "gossip" nothing but an unphilosophical, unscientific knowledge of people and events, much is gained; for the man who knows something of the history of the race and of those who have played a part in the past not only has widened his own interest in the world about him, but, other things being equal, is a proportionately more agreeable companion to those whom he encounters in the journey of life. Dr. Johnson on more than one occasion defended desultory reading, to which he himself was very prone, and a wiser man than he laid it down as a maxim many years before that "reading maketh a full man." Therefore, let us not give way too much to the nineteenth century contention about scientific history, with its array of causes and deductions, theories and results, or to that other dogma of the same period, much in favor with writers who lack the historic imagination, that "picturesque" history is a poor and trivial thing, and that, above all, history must be "judicial"—a bit of cant quite as objectionable as that concerning the "dignity of history" which imposed upon our ancestors and which we have laughed out of court. There was a good deal of sound truth in Byron's remark about Mitford: "Having named his sins, it is but fair to state his virtues—learning, research, wrath, and partiality. I call the latter virtues in a writer because they make him write in earnest." The history, indeed, to be defined as "gossip," or which remains or becomes

"gossip" in the mind of him who reads, has also its very real merits of entertainment and of instruction as well as of imparting a knowledge which, however desultory and disconnected, is a good thing for him who has it and makes the possessor thereof more desirable to his fellows. The "Memoirs of St. Simon" may be in themselves the merest gossip that was ever set down, as they are certainly the most copious; but he who has looked upon these vivid pictures of a vanished society, whether he is imaginative enough to see shining upon them the red light of after years or not, has enlarged his own mind, widened his own interests, quickened his own intelligence, and made himself more attractive to others by following across these many pages the pageant of the great Louis and his court.

We may, indeed, go much further, if we would do full justice to "gossip," by remembering what has already been suggested, that the worth of any record of the past, no matter how trivial or fond, depends not merely upon the mind of the writer, but upon that of the reader as well. According to the canons of those modern extremists who would make history as destitute of literary quality as a museum of comparative anatomy, Herodotus and Suetonius, Joinville and Froissart, Pepys and Walpole and Franklin would be rejected with contempt as historians and set down as mere retailers of idle "gossip" or, at best, rather untrustworthy "original sources." It may be readily admitted that not one of them ever attempted to trace properly the sequence of cause and effect or to draw a truly scientific deduction. They were all probably quite innocent of any knowledge of their duties in that respect; yet not only the world but history in the truest sense would be much poorer and certainly much duller without them. The infinite charm which they all possess—from the ancient Greek, wandering about his little world, tablets in hand and ears open to the tales of the temple, the court or the market place, down to the American boy seeking employment as a printer in London, where he was one day to determine the fate of empires—attracts and will always attract everyone who cares for literature and to whom humanity and humor and the life of a dead past appeal. To those who look with considerate eyes into these old writers of tales and purveyors of "gossip," these simple chroniclers and delightfully egotistic diarists, there rise up pictures of times long past, of social conditions and modes of thought long dead, as well as revelations of human

character and motives, rich in suggestions of historic cause and effect and more fertile in explanation of the fate and meaning of man upon earth than acres of catalogued facts scientifically classified, or reams of calendared state papers arranged with antiquarian skill. The catalogues and calendars are work of high value, yet they have no importance until the seeing eye of the real historian has torn out the heart of their mystery. The gossip of the Greek and the Roman, of the medieval chroniclers and the eighteenth century diarists, have delighted and instructed thousands who never write and to whom the solemn words "scientific history" have no meaning. At the same time, to those who would seek the deeper meanings and link together cause and effect, they offer far more than barren collections of indiscriminate facts, no matter how well or how scientifically arranged. Herodotus may be loose and inaccurate and Suetonius may be malignant and filled with error, but what light shines from the one upon the ancient civilizations of Asia Minor and Egypt, and how could we ever realize the dark shadows which overhung the glories of the Cæsars without the grim pictures of the other? We should fare ill in any attempt to understand from moldering parchments alone the wonderful century which gave to France her royal saint and the art that produced the Sainte-Chapelle if we could not read the simple words of Joinville. The English and French wars live for us in the rambling pages of Froissart; Pepys, besides laying bare a human soul, tells more of what the Restoration really was than all the professed historians then or since; in Walpole, greatest of English letter writers, we know the England of the three Georges; and in Franklin we can discover the secret of the loss of the American colonies. In all alike we get the atmosphere of the times, we learn to know man as he then was in those various countries and widely separated periods. Such knowledge can only be obtained from men who had literary power, observation, and imagination. Without such knowledge "scientific history" cannot make a beginning even, cannot advance a step. With it the seeker for cause and effect can find as long a chain as he may wish to forge and as many deductions as he may desire to draw. The "gossip" which is also literature is the best foundation for history, and that which is not literature is, after all, merely a collection of the unclassified facts so dear to the scientific historian, who thinks they can be made alive by arrangement alone. Let us not, then, be too quick

to throw aside "gossip" without discrimination, for when it has a high literary quality it will outlive scientific history in the hearts of men, and will, in the long run, teach them more about themselves and about their race than the wisest collector and classifier of facts who ever lived, because men will read the "gossip" and fall asleep over the reasoned catalogue.

So much, then, for the unscientific, unphilosophical, disconnected, desultory history, whether great literature or not, which we are quite ready to call "gossip," and to speak of patronizingly as an inferior thing, but which most of us in our heart of hearts really like better than any other. Let us leave it with all good wishes for the pleasure it has given us and the profound instruction it has offered to those who seek instruction diligently, and come to the superior function of history, the true history which, relying solely upon itself and not upon the reader, aspires not only to instruct and inform, but to explain man to himself. Of its importance there can be no doubt; still less of its seriousness. History in this aspect may easily fail to be amusing; if it is not literature also it will probably fail to be anything else, but properly written it cannot be otherwise than profoundly important and interesting. Here in this History of Nations, and in countless other volumes, lie the garnered facts, ever being increased and ever shifting in their proportionate importance and in their relation to each other. What is the purpose of history in dealing with these facts, if in itself it is to be of any real value in the largest sense? There have been many answers to this question, many essays, most of them, it must be confessed, rather dreary, replying at length as to the functions and uses of history. Setting aside as alien to what we are now considering all that vast and valuable mass which may be classified as "gossip," and which is at the lowest estimate certainly raw material, the object of history or the study of history now under consideration may be briefly stated. There is, to begin with, the old, classical, and conventional phrase that history is philosophy teaching by example, which means little or nothing. Napoleon said that "history was the fable agreed upon," the quick utterance of a great genius who had never gone beyond the "gossip." Disraeli, readiest and most epigrammatic, perhaps, of the more modern public men—certainly the most un-English—saw use in history only as an explanation of the past, an excellent definition, but so limited as to make history of but little

worth if it cannot pass these bounds. Emerson, in his vaguely beautiful essay, defines history as the record of man, tells us that we are history, and that history is ourselves; in more prosaic words, that history is the explanation of the present. Add this definition to that of Disraeli and we have advanced a goodly distance, but history must be yet more and must go further still if it is to fulfill its whole function.

In a very recent essay Mr. George M. Trevelyan has described the function of history in a manner as fine and a style as perfected and beautiful as his conception of the work of the historian is noble and true. The three functions of history he defines as teaching the lessons of political wisdom, spreading the knowledge of past ideas and of great men, and, most important of all, "causing us in moments of diviner solitude to feel the poetry of time." The first two functions are of great worth, and it was never more necessary to preach their virtue and necessity than now, but they are the more immediate achievements of history, inseparable from it when rightly written, and do not reach that larger and more ultimate purpose which I am seeking to find and express here. It is in the third aspect that Mr. Trevelyan touches history in its highest range, when he says that it ought to make us feel the poetry of time and the passing of the race through many epochs along the highway of eternity.

> "Each changing place with that which goes before,
> In sequent toil all forward do contend."

Such is the poetry of time, and there lies hid the secret of man and his relation to the universe.

To be more explicit, history must, it is true, explain the past, as Disraeli wished, and the present, as Emerson desired. But that is not enough. Perhaps it is impossible that it should do more; but history, if it is carried to the full height of our conception, ought also to enable us to see into the future, to calculate in some degree the movement of the race as we now calculate the orbit of the stars, and read in the past, whether dim or luminous, a connected story and a pervading law. In other words, history in the ultimate analysis must give us a theory of the universe as well as of human life and action. Has this been done? Have these masses of facts, gathered of late with such ant-like diligence, yet been

brought into such connection? have they been so ordered and mastered as to tell a coherent story and thus explain to us the course of human life and conduct? If they have not, then history has thus far failed of its final purpose in whole or in part.

In the wonderful nineteenth century just past we have gone clearly beyond the simple-minded writers of annals and chronicles. We have learned, indeed, to regard annals and chronicles, as well as biographies and statistics and every phase and form of human activity, as primarily so much raw material, so many observations to be sifted and compared and grouped until they afford a theory or explanation of some sort for the man or the incident or the events to which they relate. But have we by this method as yet deduced a result which really explains at once the past and the present, which makes us not only feel the poetry of time, but which also throws a bright light along the pathway of the future? Have we attained in any degree to a working hypothesis which shall make clear to us the development and fate of man upon earth? Unless we can answer these questions quite clearly in the affirmative then history has not yet fulfilled her whole mission, and still sits by the roadside like the Sphinx waiting for the traveler who can guess her riddle.

It is a riddle worth guessing. None more so. The genius who will draw out from the welter of recorded time a theory which will explain to man both himself and his relation to the universe need fear comparison with no other that has ever lived, for he must not only make the great discovery, but he must clothe it in words which will live as literature and touch it with an imagination which will reach the heart of humanity and endure like the poetry of those who sang for the people when the world was young.

Let us see, however, what has been accomplished; let us at least try to measure "the petty done, the undone vast." We have brought together immense masses of facts, in some cases far too many—so much so that their very density has caused men not infrequently to lose their way among details, and, having deprived them of the sense of proportion, has led them to mistake the particular for the general. We are, indeed, more likely now to suffer from having too many facts than too few. By no possibility can we have, in anything which relates to human affairs, all the facts. Even some of the most tangible and external escape us; and of the

tangle of passions, emotions, and desires which so largely determine the course of human events we can know but little, and must always be content with large inferences and with a psychology of the masses because that of individuals, except in a few isolated instances, is lost to us forever. Unable, therefore, to know all the facts, we must proceed by selection and by generalizations based on those dominating types which have been chosen through the instinct and the imagination, the very qualities that no amount of mere training will give. The besetting danger of the time lies in the tendency to reverence mere heaps of facts and to treat one fact, because it is such, as equal in value to every other—a doctrine much beloved by those who would separate history from literature and make it nothing more than a series of measurements or a classified catalogue. Facts in themselves have no value except as the material from which the men of high and coördinating intelligence can, by selecting and rejecting, bring forth a theory, a philosophy, or a story which the world will be able to read and understand because it is helped to do so by all the charm and all the light which literary art and historic imagination can give. A "scientific history," crammed with facts, well arranged, but unreadable, and at the same time devoid of art and selection, is, perhaps, as sad a monument of misspent labor as human vanity can show. None the less, after all deductions, the accumulation of facts, if properly used and then supplemented by all the resources of literary art, is absolutely essential to the highest history, for laws governing human development rest, like those of science, in large degree on the number of recorded observations, and find in that way control and correction. This is especially true in the case of archæology, which is daily adding so enormously to our knowledge of early civilizations in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, as well as in the Greek islands and peninsula, and which thus enables us to make those comparisons, stretching over long periods of time, upon which any stable theory of the movement of civilized mankind must ultimately rest. To this must also be added the scientific investigation into the condition of prehistoric man and of primitive tribes and races, our prehistoric contemporaries, from which alone it is possible to draw the widest deductions as to the primary development of what we call civilized man. To put this first proposition in a few words, we have in the last one hundred years gathered, and in a large measure arranged

intelligently, the necessary material to which we are still adding, and which is an essential preliminary to writing history in the highest sense of the word.

We have also passed definitely and finally out of the stage where history was considered too solemn and too dignified to have any of the attractions of what is frankly "gossip," and yet remained nothing but a stringing together of facts, as if they were single beads, each separated from the others by a dividing and impassable knot. The habit is now ingrained in all writers of history, even if they are merely dealing with an episode or preparing a monograph, to lead up from cause to effect, to point out the sources of an event, the culmination of the various compelling forces and the ultimate results, or else to arrange the narrative in such wise that the reader must perforce draw his own deductions and thus learn the lesson which the author desires to impart. This method of dealing with history varies, of course, most widely in the extent of its application. It may be applied to a single incident or to the occurrences of a few years; or, on the other hand, it may stretch over the centuries, seeking in past generations the distant conditions from which sprang finally some great event; or, again, it may strive to connect with the phenomena of our modern times remote causes which are dimly discerned in the dawn of civilization, and in this way establish a law which shall govern the entire movement of humanity.

It is this search for cause and effect which has been the distinguishing feature of historical work in the nineteenth century. No doubt the practice has existed, sporadically at least, since history began to be written; but in the last century it became the dominant note, the ruling characteristic to which all writers aspired, although naturally with varying degrees of success. That which we seek here is to estimate approximately to what point the increased knowledge, the multiplied observations, and the system of tracing out cause and effect have brought us on the road to fulfilling the highest function of history. We can see very readily that in the explanation of the past and the present much has been achieved. For example, the causes which led to the revolt of the American colonies against England, or to the French Revolution, have been studied not only in the immediately preceding years, but have been patiently tracked through the centuries, and sought not merely in political and economic conditions, but in the qualities,

habits, and characteristics of the people and in the attributes and ethnic peculiarities of the stocks from which these historic races were formed. The time when it was possible to treat great and violent changes of this kind as isolated events, growing suddenly out of surrounding conditions, has passed away never to return.

Having thus reached the point where it is not only possible but habitual to explain philosophically and on logical principles a past event, it is but a short step to find in past events, properly arranged and treated, the explanation of the present in any given country or in any group of countries similar, if not identical, in race and in the character of their civilization. It is also true that modern history, advancing from the explanation of a given event or of an important era by tracing its causes through a long succession of years, has gone on to the work of following out through the entire historic period tendencies of thought or art, of literature or morals, as well as the religious, economic, and political movements of mankind. The results of these investigations have been more illuminating probably than anything else which has been accomplished. From these researches, which have embraced anthropology, philology, psychology, literature, and archæology, as well as history proper, a brilliant light has been cast upon much that before seemed shrouded in hopeless darkness, and a multitude of problems which puzzled the will and baffled the imagination have been made plain. From this source has come the theory of myths and folklore; the development of the identity of certain fundamental religious beliefs in all the many families of mankind; the reduction to a very small number of the absolutely different races of men; a knowledge of the often unexplained migrations of vast bodies of people, of the economic conditions, the trade, the commerce, the industries, and the discoveries of mineral, which have played such a large and so often a controlling part in human affairs, and of the military and political attributes and tendencies which have so largely, in appearance at least, determined the fate of states and empires.

Yet the final question is still unanswered. The world still awaits a theory or an explanation of the movement of mankind as a whole which shall make clear the entire past, show whence we have come, why we have marched in the manner recorded along the highways of time, whither we are going, and in what direction

we must go, by a proof as resistless as the fall of the apple to the ground, which, as we assert, conclusively demonstrates what we call the law of gravitation.

To reach this ultimate goal we must have a theory of the universe, and the necessity of such a theory has been perceived more or less dimly or more or less clearly by all serious historians from the time when history first began to be written with any other purpose than that of making a brief abstract and chronicle of the time. The theory of the universe and of life upon which historians proceeded either deliberately or unconsciously down to the latter half of the eighteenth century was, broadly speaking, the theological theory. The doctrines, the dogmas, and the formulas of theologians and priests furnished the underlying theory upon which historians worked out their results, and this was as true of the East as of the West, of Asia as of Europe, of the writers of antiquity as of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages. In the last analysis history fell back upon theology, and accepted its formulas and its philosophy as giving the final answer whenever the historian sought to set forth an explanation of man's existence upon earth, or to show the connection and relation of events in the life of humanity.

In the eighteenth century the spirit of skepticism and inquiry rose up and took possession of the thought of Western civilization. In dealing with history its resources were meager, its material was limited, and its methods crude. Voltaire, who represented that skeptical spirit in its most powerful and concentrated form, and who exercised a wide and profound influence to a degree which it is now difficult even to imagine, was simply destructive. He struck at the theological conceptions and explanations of past events with penetrating force and with weapons of the keenest edge, but the simplicity of his attack is only equaled by his ignorance of the real meaning of the traditions and habits of thought at which he aimed his blows. None the less the work of the eighteenth century was effective so far as it went. It tore the theological theories of the universe to tatters and scattered the fragments to the four winds of heaven. It was unable to replace that which it destroyed, but it cleared the ground, and to this inheritance the next century succeeded. The old theories were discredited. The way was open to construct a new one.

The nineteenth century was preëminently scientific. Science during that period was the ruling force in the domain of thought,

and its discoveries and advances are the monuments of its marvelous success. But its influence has spread far beyond its own province. In every direction the methods of science have been adopted and its standards set up as the best methods and the loftiest standards for all forms of thought and inquiry. History, therefore, during the last hundred years has sought to make itself and to call itself scientific as the highest quality at which it could aim; and the devotion to facts, the search for truth at all costs, the rigid deductions, coldly regardless of sentiment or prejudice, have all been attributes borrowed from science and of immense value to historical results. The study of history pursued in this way, and carried into adjoining fields of research like anthropology, archæology, and philology, has brought about a complete readjustment of many of our ideas as to the development of man and his relations to the universe. Indeed, it is scarcely realized how penetrating the influence of history governed by scientific methods has been, and what a revolution it has wrought, for the most part quite insensibly, in all our conceptions as to the existence, meaning, and fate of the human race.

That this has been accomplished at a loss, and a serious loss, to history as literature can hardly be denied. Modern history of the purely scientific and judicial variety has thus far been unable to sustain the literary glories of the past. Thucydides and Tacitus and Gibbon were by no means wanting in a theory of the universe or of the life of man. They were masters of their subjects and of their material, and they were also most distinctly philosophers, reasoners, and thinkers, although not given over to modern scientific methods; yet they still stand alone and unrivaled in literature, and would wonder greatly to be told that we cannot have serious history or a philosophy of life until we cease to be picturesque. They would marvel even more to be told that it is the fashion to hold that we must be "judicial" to the point of never taking sides, and usually of sustaining a paradox; that if we would really be historians we must assume that the accepted opinion is wrong because it is accepted, and must close our eyes firmly to the splendid pageant of the years which have gone if we would win the praise of the antiquarian, the specialist, or the learned society. We owe much to the adoption of scientific methods in history; but if we give way to the intolerable dogma that history in order to be really scientific must divest itself of all connection with literature, it

would be better never to have attempted those methods and to have blundered along in the old way. When Mr. Bury, the Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, announces "that history is not a branch of literature" he advances a proposition which if adopted would kill history, and which could by no possibility give us science in its place. Imagination is no doubt one important quality among others in the really great men of science, but it is absolutely essential to the great historian, for without imagination no history worthy of the name can be written. Very valuable results can be achieved without it in the physical sciences, because their phenomena are devoid of the spiritual and emotional elements; but the history of man is in large measure governed or modified by passion, sentiment, and emotion, and cannot be gauged or understood without the sympathy and the perception which only imagination and the dramatic instinct can give. Moreover, history is utterly vain unless men can learn something from it; they cannot learn unless they read, and they will neither read nor understand unless the theory or the doctrine drawn forth from the winnowed facts is presented to them with all the grace and force which style can give and with all the resources of a beautiful literary art. The worst enemies of scientific methods are those who would, in the name of science, reduce history to a sifted dust heap and who decry the art of literature because they cannot master it, although without it history has never yet been written and never will be able to speak to men or to give them the explanation of their existence, if that great secret is ever discovered in all its completeness.

But the literary side of historical development, and without which it cannot continue, is not, after all, what concerns us here further than to point out its absolute necessity, if we would effect anything of lasting worth. It is in the achievements of modern scientific history, not yet ruined by its unreasoning devotees, that we must look for the dial hand of progress; and however dryly the fashion of the moment or personal incapacity may have compelled historians to state the conclusions thus reached, here are to be found the latest steps which have been taken toward the goal of that history which shall give us, if such a thing is possible, the full explanation which we seek. It is along the lines followed by modern history that we must proceed in our quest, but thus far these lines have been separate. One subject or one tendency has in turn

and each by itself been traced out from the beginning, and the theory or law which has governed in each case has frequently been evolved and stated with the utmost care and acuteness. But the lines have not yet converged, the theories have not yet been grouped, the various laws still await the genius who shall cast them into a code.

The stupendous difficulties of the task must not be underestimated. Perhaps it is beyond the power of man to develop and state a great law of life, a comprehensive theory of the universe, when he must perforce rest it not merely upon a vast mass of recorded observations and classified facts, but must throughout allow for what no other scientific man need make allowance—the unending perturbations caused by human passion, human emotion, and unreasoning animal instincts. One thing alone is certain: no single theory dealing with one set of facts and one set of passions and tendencies can ever explain everything. The forces which have started the great migrations, the religious passions, the political aptitudes, can each explain much; the economic movement can probably explain more than any single clew, and yet no one of them alone is sufficient to make clear all that has happened and weave the many threads into a final answer to the riddle of the Sphinx, who waits and watches by the roadside as the procession of mankind marches by in endless files.

Yet is there here no reason for discouragement. Every failure of a proper attempt to reach that final and complete solution of the great enigma which history alone can give, if it is ever to be given at all, has advanced us in knowledge. It is much better to look at what has been accomplished than to sigh over the undone, fold our hands in despair and content ourselves by saying, like the scientific professor of history, that all we can do is to heap up more facts for distant generations to use. The answer may not yet have been found; but the light is growing brighter, and the prospect of attaining to a complete reply, if no nearer, seems at least clearer than ever before. Even to realize where we fall short is, if not very hopeful, very instructive, and opens the only possible path to future success.

The theological theory, then, which was so long dominant has been swept away and history has fallen under the control of scientific processes. It has not only assimilated the methods of science, but it has striven to deduce from its own phenomena

the doctrines which science in the latter half of the nineteenth century adopted and promulgated. It has, in short, substituted for the theological theory that of science. So far as it has had any definite purpose it has aimed to show, like the science of the last fifty years, that the true explanation of man's existence and movements is mechanical; that at bottom we must fall back on the "fortuitous concourse of atoms," and that a continuous evolution is the sole guide in the maze of human affairs, as it has been partially shown to be in the animal world. And now, even while history is advancing on these lines, science is pausing in doubt, the mechanical theory seems to be breaking down, the "fortuitous concourse of atoms" is being abandoned, the limitations of evolution are becoming constantly clearer, the younger biologists no longer trust implicitly the dogmas of the later years, and Lord Kelvin announces that the last word of the latest science indicates a reversion to the doctrine of a governing law. Is history to go on in the old ways, which but yesterday were new, or is it to pause, as science has paused, and turn again, not to the old theological theory, but to one which involves a general and permanent law of the universe and of life?

What has history herself to say, speaking from her own experience and enlightened by her own efforts? What have the profound research and the acute deductions of these later years to produce by way of solving the problem of what her future course shall be? Has history been able to show a process of evolution so continuous as at once to demonstrate that men from the beginning, despite many aberrations, have moved along one line, compelled thereto by environment and by their physical and mental structure, thus proving that humanity has been governed by mechanical processes as completely as science very recently held all physical developments to be, whether in the heavens above or in the earth beneath? Or, on the other hand, has history, like science, apparently failed to maintain the mechanical theory and found the "fortuitous concourse of atoms" insufficient to support the facts which she herself has brought to light? Has the Darwinian doctrine of evolution as applied to the events of history disclosed there also limitations which make it appear incomplete and at best tentative?

Looking broadly at the situation as it is to-day, the story of man upon earth seems to fall into two divisions, the prehistoric

and the historic periods. The earliest knowledge that can in any proper sense be called historical, or which rests upon records of any sort, is imparted to us by the remains of the civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Western Asia. These civilizations, as revealed to us by the latest archæological discoveries, appear to have been substantially at the point where we ourselves were a century ago, and if not complete were certainly in a stage of high development. How and by what processes that position was reached we do not and probably can never know. A long road certainly had been traveled before it was attained. The starting point is dim. The earliest human skulls which have been found do not differ more widely in size and shape from the skulls of men to-day than the skulls of several actually existent races vary from each other. They leave unbridged and substantially undiminished the gulf which yawns between the skulls of races now existent and the most highly developed ape. Man, therefore, as we know him, is not fundamentally different physically from the earliest progenitor who can be distinctly recognized as a man, a human being in our sense of the word. But the gap between the earliest man known to us, between the man of the drift or the shell heap, for instance, and the neolithic man, is immense, although it is trifling compared to the chasm which separates the man of flints from the man who lived under the earliest Egyptian dynasties, who reared the first buildings by the Nile, or who constructed the first palaces of Babylonia, drained the streets and house of her cities and codified her laws. We find man at the outset with nothing apparently except the discovery of fire, although we must infer a period when even the use of fire was unknown; and then we find him with weapons of stone, at first rudely and then ingeniously worked; with pottery and with indications of some use of metals in the form of pins or copper models of stone implements for war or the chase. Then we plunge into darkness again, and when we emerge we behold a man possessed of language and written characters, who has organized society and government and enacted laws; who has invented the wheel for locomotion, mastered the application of animal or muscular power; who has developed a splendid architecture and a noble art; who understands engineering, carries on an extensive commerce, marshals armies and conducts wars with ordered legions. The distance from the man who applied and controlled fire, the greatest single discovery ever made,

and from the later man who was able to chip stone, fabricate weapons, and make pottery, to the man who could do all this, staggers imagination when we strive to guess at what had happened and been accomplished in the interval. We seem to pass at a single bound from the dimly conceived being who, stark naked or dressed perhaps in skins, was savage to a degree beyond our power of description, and who waged an unequal war with monstrous animals, to men who are so like us in comparison with what had gone before that it seems as if the solemn Egyptian kings and the makers of the winged bulls were our own kin and lived but yesterday instead of dwelling on the misty verge of recorded time. In that long interval which elapsed between the earliest trace of man onward and upward from the discovery of fire to the time of these ancient civilizations, what happened? By what steps has man, or rather certain tribes and races of men, climbed to such a height? We do not know, probably we never shall know more than reasonable conjecture can tell; yet the inference seems irresistible, inevitable we may almost say, that during that period of darkness there was a steady process of evolution advancing slowly but surely by the discovery and development of forces which radically changed the environment and all the conditions surrounding the race to a position where man had essentially all that he possessed a hundred years ago. These ancient civilizations and their successors ripen as we approach the Christian era. Their art was refined, their language was perfected, their literature attained to imperishable beauty; they widened their geography and increased the sum of knowledge, but there was no radical change of environment, there were no new forces to compel such a change. In the earliest civilizations really known to us we find that men had arms and arts, architecture and letters, organized government and systems of laws, commerce, war, armies, means of transportation by land and water. All these things they perfected down to the fall of the Roman empire; but they added no new force like fire or the wheel, like linguistic symbols or organized society, such as they had brought slowly forth in the prehistoric days.

When the empire of Rome went to pieces Western Europe sank into a period of anarchy, in which all the arts, whether ornamental or economic, and all forms of organizations retrograded, and the period known as the Dark Ages set in. The traditions of science and learning, of literature and art, were kept alive only

by Byzantium in the East, where they were destined to disappear under the onset of the Ottoman Turks, and by the Moors in Spain. Slowly and painfully new systems, new states, and a new social order were evolved from the welter of destruction which followed the downfall of Rome; and out of these new movements came at last the Renaissance, the revival of learning, the junction of the present with the classical past, and thence modern civilization. But through all these chances and changes, alike through the rise and fall of Egypt and Chaldea, of Assyria and Persia, through the supremacy of Greece and the final dominion of Rome, as well as through the Middle Ages and the growth of our modern civilization, there was no fundamental change in the conditions and achievements such as we find indicated at the close of the prehistoric period. No new forces had come into play to alter the development of man. States and empires had waxed and waned; there had been great migrations of peoples, great shiftings of the centers of military, political, and economic power. We can trace these movements, we know their causes, we understand the influence of mineral wealth and of trade routes, but the foundations are undisturbed. In the eighteenth century, as in the time of the earliest Egyptian dynasty, men still depend on themselves and on animals as the source of power; they have the wheel for transportation, the written word for communication; they reap and sow and build and have literature and the fine arts. The bounds of knowledge have widened, broadening far in the days of Greece and Rome, and then contracting after the fall of the empire only to widen again after the fourteenth century and then stretch farther and farther out with each succeeding year. Still there is no vital change. The art of war is revolutionized by the introduction of gunpowder, the acquisition of knowledge is made easy by the invention of printing; but these two things apart, the man of the eighteenth century does not differ essentially from the Egyptian or the Babylonian, from the Greek or the Roman, in the conditions of life or in his relations to the earth and his fellow-men. He still travels with the horse on land and with the wind or the oar at sea. His journeys are still along paths and trails and roads or by canals, rivers, and ocean. He knows the earth and its extent more completely than the Roman, but it is probable the roads and methods of communication were better under Rome so far as they extended at all than they were a hundred years ago. One civilization has

succeeded another, new states have risen, old ones flourished and decayed; the economic equilibrium has shifted and trade routes have altered, carrying prosperity to one kingdom and ruin to another; the fine arts have taken on new forms and developments among different peoples, have touched the heights, blazed with splendor and gone out only to shine again in some new home. But still there has been no fundamental change. No empire, no state, no civilization seems to have passed beyond a certain point which others had already achieved. The scene shifts, the accessories change, but the drama is the same. If there had been a steady and scientific evolution in the prehistoric period, after the close of that period the evolution of the most highly developed portions of mankind seems to have ceased. The movements are all sporadic, and never get beyond the point which the most ancient civilization, when it emerges from the darkness to greet our eyes, had in all essential things already at hand. There is no indication that man has improved physically since the day when history began. That he has advanced in his moral attributes and conceptions under the influence of religion we can hardly refuse to believe, if we would, and the facts by any test furnish sufficient proof that man's attitude to his fellows is finer and better, even if we have improved in no other way. On the other hand, although we know more, there can be no doubt that man is no stronger as an intellectual being than he was when Plato taught and Sophocles composed his tragedies, when Phidias carved and Zeuxis painted and Pericles fought and governed. In the fine arts, indeed, it is difficult to see that, except in rare instances, man has ever attained a higher standard in sculpture or architecture, of which alone we are able to judge with certainty, than he reached in the earliest civilization.

It must always be carefully borne in mind that there is a broad distinction between the elaboration or perfection of an existing art or a discovered force and the successive introduction of new forces which lead on to a different structure of society and to conditions wholly different from what has gone before. The latter is a true scientific evolution, no matter how infinitesimal the advance or how slow the movement which destroys the unfit and causes the survival of those fittest to survive. The mere elaboration or perfection of existent arts and forces, although they may exhibit in a distinctly limited way the operations of the laws of evolution, do not, in the broad scientific sense, constitute a race

evolution which can supply us with an explanation of the development of the race as a whole, or with a theory of the universe or of life. The discovery of the means by which fire could be applied and controlled whenever it occurred changed all the conditions surrounding the race of men. It was a true evolutionary step in the development of the race, and the Promethean myth shows how the tremendous impression of its effects survived through ages the length of which we cannot calculate. The same may be said of the application of animal power, of the invention of written symbols, of the organization of society, of the art of building. But the elaboration and perfection of architecture, the refinement of written characters into a literature, the increase of size in boats or vessels when propulsion by wind or muscle had once been discovered are not an evolutionary progress of the race in any true sense, nor do they furnish a general law to explain the entire mystery of humanity. The men who first discovered the process of making bricks, and then the further possibility of so putting stones or bricks together as to make a permanent structure to shelter their gods, their dead or their living, took a long step on the path of evolution. But this step once taken, the men who built the temples of Egypt or of Nippur or the Lion Gate of Mycenæ, the Parthenon of Athens, the Colosseum of Rome, or the Gothic cathedrals of France, were expressing the same invention in different forms, but they were not carrying forward at all the evolution of the race. These forms of surpassing strength, grandeur, and beauty were evolved, no doubt, from the principles of the rude beginnings which constituted the scientifically evolutionary step; but it was the original discovery which was evolutionary and not the refinement and elaboration which followed and which failed to change the fundamental conditions of the race. It is very essential to keep clearly in mind the distinction between the evolution of the race, as a whole, through a vital change in environment and conditions necessitating a corresponding adaptation and alteration in the life of man and in the organization of society, and on the other hand the evolution of a given art or society, or of an economic structure or political state. From the discovery of the means by which a fire could be kindled and controlled to the lamps of the Roman or the Greek is a long process of evolution in the use of fire, but does not touch the general evolution of the race. The original discovery changed vitally the conditions which surrounded

man and forced him into a new environment to which he was obliged slowly to adapt himself, but the improvements and extensions of the use of fire had in themselves no such effect. The process by which men advanced from picture writing to the plays of Euripides and Aristophanes is of great importance in the evolution of language, but it was the invention of a symbol for human speech which altered the environment of man and not the improvements and developments of such symbols. The secret we would wring from the past is not the law governing the evolution of any particular state or people, of any especial art or form of social organization, but what the forces are which in their union have changed the environment of humanity and which will give us a law that explains the entire movement of the race, solves the mystery of existence and defines with a single answer man's relation to the universe. We can readily understand the difference between the essentially evolutionary step and that which is only an elaboration of a discovery already made, if we can imagine the world divested of all that has come into it through the agency of steam and electricity and then contrast it with that which existed under the ancient civilizations. The men who separated the American colonies from England and carried through the revolution in France, events which together changed the entire political system of America and Western Europe, possessed gunpowder and printing, but beyond these two things they did not differ essentially in their environment from the men of the ancient civilizations. Like the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Greek, and the Roman, they still depended upon the muscles of men and animals or on the wind, the rivers or the tides for power. They propelled their boats by sails or oars, they traveled on horseback; and in war and peace their transport rested on wheels, which they caused to revolve by the force of draft animals or of men. After developing new forms of architecture they had reverted to the ancient models, and it may be safely said that they never surpassed the work of the builders of the Parthenon or of the tombs and temples of Egypt. Modern engineering has yet to show whether it can rival the Pyramids, or outdo the engineers whose lofty bridge over the Gard still stands with its tiers of arches, after nineteen hundred years, absolutely plumb, and along which

> "Men might march on nor be pressed
> Twelve abreast."

How much of our pavement will remain after two thousand years? There are miles of Roman pavement still to be found scattered over Europe from Italy to Scotland. How much better is our system of water supply than that which the great aqueducts striding across the plains brought to Rome and to her provincial towns? Have we improved materially upon the Cloaca Maxima or the almost perfect arched drain in the deepest excavation of Nippur? Have we carried architecture or painting or sculpture further than it was carried in Egypt or in Greece? We may go over the whole field and the results will be everywhere the same, and all alike will point to the same conclusion, that from the earliest civilizations historically known to us down to the close of the eighteenth century there had been no change in environment and conditions sufficient to warrant the assertion of a continuous evolution such as we must have if we are to find in it a general law and complete explanation. The stream of civilization rises and falls, plunges out of sight in one place and reappears in another, but it never cuts new channels or reaches a higher plane or flows with a broader current than it apparently possessed at the dawn of recorded history. Evolution of the race in the sense in which it is used here must go steadily forward without a break, compelled thereto by successive radical changes in race environment. No matter how minute or how slow the advance it cannot stand still; and variety alone or mere shifting of place is not advance, although it may be movement. Thus it seems, speaking broadly, that during the historic period and down to the closing years of the eighteenth century there has been no true race evolution in the proper sense of the word or in the manner in which we may reasonably infer it to have existed and proceeded down to the time of historical records. It would seem, if this be true, that there are marked limitations upon the doctrine of evolution in history as there are in science, and the difficulty is one which history itself must meet.

But there is a still further difficulty if we consider the period just preceding the present day, for there we find strong evidence of a resumption of the real evolutionary movement of the race if we may assume that such a movement went on in prehistoric times; and history is in this way confronted with the demand that it should enunciate some law which shall cover not only the periods

of evolution, but also the space filled with intense activity in which no evolution took place. This demand becomes apparent if we examine closely the very latest period in the life of humanity, the one through which we have been and are at this moment passing. To make clear what this latest period means it is necessary briefly to summarize and restate the proposition which has just been laid down. We find man at the opening of the nineteenth century with a vastly extended knowledge, with greatly advanced methods of killing other animals, including himself, and with highly improved machinery for transmitting and diffusing his knowledge through the medium of printed speech. Otherwise he does not differ in any radical manner from his predecessor on the upper Nile, in the temples of Nippur, the streets of Bactra, or within the walls of Tiryns or Mycenæ. To men in this condition came suddenly two new forces, in the practical application of steam as power and of electricity, first as a means of transmitting thought and knowledge and then as a form of power also. These new forces have changed the face of the world and radically altered human conditions, creating a wholly new environment, by the quickening of transportation and communication and by bringing the whole earth so easily within the grasp of the dominant races that it is nearly all reduced to possession in name and will soon be so in reality. There is no need to point out or dwell upon the marvels which have thus been wrought out or the social and political revolutions which have been effected. Gunpowder and printing worked social and political revolutions in their time also. The important point for us now is that under the mastery of these new forces, which have produced a new environment, another period of regular and scientific evolution has apparently set in; and the new movement, which is chiefly economic and social, has gone on not only with regularity, but with an accelerated momentum which is little short of appalling. Here, under these new forces, we are not carrying the well-understood civilization of the past five thousand or six thousand years once more to a pitch of splendor, but we are producing a civilization and a social system wholly different from what has gone before. To speak more exactly, we are pushing forward the civilization we have inherited from the countless centuries beyond all the former limits and on to heights or depths never before touched. The phenomena of this resultant of the new forces are largely

economic on the surface, but they are at bottom not only economic but social. We are creatures of habit, and we still express the new forces in terms of the only power the race knew for many thousands of years; but what we have actually done is to change the world from the horse to the engine, from the man to the machine. We are rapidly increasing this force estimated in horse power until it has already gone well-nigh beyond imagination. And still we are increasing it, still concentrating the whole movement of the world and the daily life of humanity on the production of machine power, heedless alike of the velocity at which we are traveling, or the fact that a single break at any point might mean ruin and desolation such as the world has never known. Armed with this power we are tearing out the resources of the earth with entire disregard of the future, and heaping up wealth in a profusion and in masses such as the world never before imagined even in its dreams.

But the one fact more important than any other is that a process of steady evolution, owing to a change in the conditions surrounding humanity, seems to be again in progress. Can history explain this present time in which, borne on by new and untried forces, we are passing beyond any civilization hitherto known, or predict the future which this present portends? Can history, with the assistance of archæology, anthropology, geology, and the rest, do this and by researches in the prehistoric times, when there must have been evolution, owing to radical discoveries and changes and by the local and limited evolution in specific cases in modern times, tell us the manner in which this new evolutionary power is going to work? Are we to infer that because the movement of our own time appears to rest upon the conservation, concentration, and control of energy, and upon the development of natural forces to that end, that therefore the movement of prehistoric times must have had the same evolutionary process at work and that here we are to find at last the clew to the development of the race? Can history bring all the periods within the operation of one harmonious law and the scope of a single explanation? The purely mechanical theory of the universe seems to have broken down under science. It has also failed apparently to explain finally and completely the history of man. Must history, like science, return upon her steps and seek for some new governing law which shall succeed where dogma was defeated and

where evolution fell short of the final goal? A new period, bringing with it forces and conditions hitherto unknown, confronts modern history. Unless she can solve the problem it presents, unless she can bring forth a theory of the universe and of life which shall take up the past and from it read the riddle of the present and draw aside the veil of the future, then history in its highest sense has failed. To the men of the twentieth century comes the opportunity to make the effort which shall convert failure to success, if success be possible.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Publisher's Note

The first three years of the second quarter of the Twentieth Century close with 1928; they have passed over a world immeasurably different from that of the years with which the century opened. The intervening period has witnessed changes greater than those of most of the epochs of world history. The quarter century just passed has been an era of great wars; of redistribution of the lands of the earth; of the downfall of royal houses; of the splitting up of empires; of the rebirth of old nations and the creation of new ones; of the veering of governments to the extreme left of communism and to the extreme right of the utmost conservatism.

Science has done more than in any previous age to change the world's thoughts and habits. Transportation may be by airplane or dirigible; communication may be by wireless and made well nigh universal by radio broadcasting; television is fast becoming practicable; most of all, there is the rapid mechanization of industry with its profound effects on labor and capital and on the questions of immigration and emigration. Even our concepts of the universe and of physical life have changed, and the probabilities of greater differences are evident for the future of history.

The Memorial Edition of the Lodge History of Nations links this new world with the most remote past. It is a present-day history joined to the earlier record.

To name some chief events of twenty-five years: The Russo-Japanese War ended in 1905, and in the Muscovite Empire some things occurred that foreshadowed the end of Czarism—there was, for example, the first soviet, apparently soon forgotten. In 1909, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus strengthened the enmities that brought about the Empire's over-

throw. In 1910, Edward VII. of England, influential in bringing about the Triple Entente of England, France and Russia, to counterbalance the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy, died, and was succeeded by George V. The same year saw revolution in Mexico and in China. In all these years the German Empire, dating from 1870, grew more efficient, powerful and ambitious.

In 1911, awakened Italy declared suzerainty over Tripoli and Cyrenaica, Turkish vilayets in northern Africa. The Italo-Turkish War was fought and won by Italy in 1912, and the same year saw the Balkan nations winning back lands Turkey had long held in Europe. The Second Balkan War, of 1913, in which these former allies fought over the spoils, gave Turkey opportunity for a partial rehabilitation. In midsummer, 1914, the World War burst upon Europe and the other nations of the earth. By it, Germany lost her colonies, lost her disputed lands in Europe, and emerged a republic. Austria-Hungary gave land to the new Poland, to Yugoslavia, to Italy, and, for the rest, was divided into three new nations. Russia, with her two revolutions of 1917, became a federation of soviet republics (also a dictatorship of the proletariat), and though she lost most of her Baltic lands, as Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, she is still, in 1928, astounding the world by her sinister strength, as a new kind of nation. Poland was reborn. Ancient empires like Egypt and Arabia became nominally independent. The League of Nations began and flourished. Turkey, when apparently beaten, won her national independence from Greek invaders and brought about an exchange of nationals, removed from lands occupied for centuries and even thousands of years.

In the process of the world conflict, the United States did the unbelievable and sent vast armies overseas, meantime coming to the front as the leading nation in commerce and industry. Among the after-war movements, southern Ireland won her position as a free dominion of the Empire. Later, the other British dominions and Ireland became partners, not colonies, in the Empire. The Latin American countries developed their industries and grew strong in the years of European turmoil.

League of Nations, World Court, Pan-American organizations, treaties to outlaw war—these are some of the hopeful tendencies of the new world. How they, and all the nations of the world develop further will be told year by year in supplements.

PREFACE

Professor Sayce's work, "The Ancient Empires of the East," which forms the basis of the present volume, first appeared in 1883 as an appendix to his edition of the first three books of Herodotos, and was republished separately the following year. Since then it has enjoyed great popularity and has gone through several editions, though no material change has been made in the text. Within the last two decades, however, cuneiform and Egyptian research have steadily progressed, many important discoveries have been made, and the study of ancient Oriental history has been fairly revolutionized. The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets, discovered in Middle Egypt in the winter of 1887-1888, have thrown much new light upon Western Asia and its relations with Egypt in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B. C., and have given a vivid picture of the state of Palestine immediately before the Hebrew invasion. And the famous code of Hammurabi, found at Susa in December, 1901, has yielded a remarkable insight into the state of Babylonian society in the third millennium B. C., while invaluable historical data have been gathered from the prologue and epilogue of the same document. In addition to the more striking discoveries of this nature, the patient labor of explorers and scholars has been making constant additions to the common fund of knowledge. By systematic study and the application of better methods than were possible in former days, the large accessions of new matter have been worked over in connection with the accumulated material already at hand and most important results have been achieved. A large store of new facts has been elicited, much that was formerly obscure has been made clear, and the scope of historical inquiry in this direction has been greatly broadened. This is especially apparent in the greater attention that has been devoted, with marked success, to the elucidation of the mutual relations existing between the various peoples of the ancient world, and of the political and social influences exer-

cised by them upon each other. In this respect Oriental historical research is but applying the modern principle of historic generalization.

In view of the rapid advance in every department of the subject, it is evident that a book, like that of Professor Sayce, written nearly a quarter of a century ago, must now require very considerable revision and modification. Professor Sayce himself, whose active participation in the work of progress is too well known to require comment here, would undoubtedly be the first to admit this, as is evident from the tenor of his later works. At the same time it should be stated that the responsibility for all departures from the author's text rests with the present editor, who, while seeking to avoid needless changes, has endeavored to incorporate the more important results of modern research. It was at first hoped that such alterations as might be necessary could be specially indicated in such way that the reader might be enabled to distinguish between the original text of Professor Sayce's book and the editorial additions. This plan, however, proved to be so cumbrous as to be impracticable, and therefore had to be abandoned. It is only just to Professor Sayce that this fact should be specially emphasized.

For the sake of greater completeness, it has been deemed advisable to add chapters on the history of two very important Oriental peoples, the Arabs and the Jews, not treated in Professor Sayce's work. Of the former people, the sections in Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," dealing with the rise and progress of Islam, offer an account so brilliant in style, of such absorbing interest, and so generally trustworthy, that they have been reproduced here with but slight abridgment. To this chapter has been added a brief introduction on the history of Arabia before Islam, the material for which has been chiefly derived from Dr. Otto Weber's interesting sketch, "*Arabien vor dem Islam*" (Leipzig, 1902), and the same author's "*Studien zur südarabischen Altertumskunde*" (1901). The chapters on the history of Israel, which is brought down to modern times, were prepared by the editor. For the earlier period, Guthe's excellent "*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*" (Freiburg, 1899) has been closely followed, with reference also to Budde's "*Religion des Volkes Israel bis zur Verbannung*" (Giesen, 1900), Wellhausen's "Israel and Judah" (third ed., London and Edinburgh, 1891), and Nowack's "*Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*"

(Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894). For the later period, after 135 A. D., Dr. S. Bäck's "*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*" (Frankfort, 1894) has been mainly relied upon, though Lady Magnus's "Outlines of Jewish History" (Philadelphia, 1890) and that inexhaustible store of information, the Jewish Encyclopædia, have also contributed valuable information.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

FROM the earliest times of which any record exists Western Asia and the Nile Valley were seats of human culture, and in these countries civilization flourished for thousands of years before the nations of Europe had emerged from barbarism.

In Western Asia the focus of culture lay in the land between the lower reaches of the Tigris and the Euphrates, just above the Persian Gulf, and, when first the light of history breaks through the darkness, this land, later known as Babylonia, was occupied by a people who have been termed the Sumerians. Their origin is obscure, but there are indications that they came from the mountainous country to the east, and their original home may have been in that great hive of peoples, the steppes of Central Asia. They possessed no mean skill in architecture, they were acquainted with the plastic arts, and they developed a remarkable system of writing which survived, with certain modifications, for several millenniums. Indeed, it is not impossible that this writing invented by the old Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia, and modified and developed by their Semitic successors, was the remote ancestor of our own alphabet. When contemporary records begin, these ancient people were being hard pressed by their Semitic neighbors. In fact, one of those great Semitic movements seems to have been in progress, of which history affords so many examples. Arabia, the primitive home of the Semitic race, is a fruitful mother of children, but can provide only a limited sustenance for her sons, and sooner or later a portion of them must fare forth to win new homes for themselves. For a time they might be checked by the barriers of strong neighboring states, but ultimately the growing tide of migration burst all obstacles and swept all before it. The great Mohammedan movement in the seventh century of our own era is a case in point. For a long time before the preaching of Mohammed bands of Arabs had been drifting toward the fertile provinces of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, and finally the time came when, animated by a common purpose and inspired by religious zeal, the tribesmen of Arabia swept

away the last vestige of the Persian and Byzantine Empires in Asia and Asia Minor, conquered Egypt, overran northern Africa, and penetrated Europe. This great movement was but the culmination of a long series of Semitic movements which may be seen in progress from the beginning of history. In the fourth millennium B. C. Semitic hordes overran Babylonia and the lands to the north, probably as far as the Taurus Mountains. Beginning about 2500 B. C. and extending over a considerable period of time, another great wave of migration swept over Western Asia, establishing a new Semitic dynasty in Babylonia, overrunning northern Mesopotamia, and settling the Canaanite tribes in Palestine and Syria. The Phœnicians, who belong to an older layer of this movement, were pushed by later comers to the seacoast, and thence made their way into Africa and Europe, and planted their colonies along the shores of the Mediterranean. About the fifteenth century B. C. began the movement which established the Arameans in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and overwhelmed the Hittite Empire in Western Asia. A little later the Chaldeans, probably a branch of the Aramean stock, pushed into Babylonia and founded a number of small independent states along the lower course of the Tigris.

It was the first of these movements that overthrew the Sumerians and brought Babylonia under Semitic dominion, but the more cultured Sumerians, though conquered in war, became the teachers of their ruder Semitic conquerors. From them the Semites learned the arts of peace and borrowed many religious conceptions. From them also they learned the art of writing, and adapted the Sumerian system by various modifications to the needs of their own language. In the early days Babylonia was broken up into a number of independent states, but the land was eventually united under a single monarchy, and King Sargon, whose reign is variously placed from 3800 to 3000 B. C., extended his sway from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean coast. The empire founded by him fell to pieces, and Babylonia was again broken up into a number of petty states, the political supremacy shifting in the course of time from one to another. It was under Hammurabi that the ancient glories of the land were revived. This great king, who reigned about 2250 B. C., reunited the divided country into a single monarchy under ties so binding that they endured until the conquest of Cyrus, and extended his rule far beyond the land between the rivers. Assyria was one of his provinces, northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine were

under his dominion, and though Babylonia was subsequently shorn of her western possessions, the influence of her culture was felt there until the latest times.

The city of Babylon, founded in all probability by Sargon and reëstablished as the capital of his dominions by Hammurabi, was for ages the great center of religion and culture, the holy city of Western Asia, holding a position like that of Mecca in Islam or of Papal Rome in its most glorious days. The death-blow to Babylon's political supremacy came from one of her own dependencies. From very early times Assyria was the vassal of Babylon, and as late as about 1400 B. C. Burnaburiash, King of Babylon, writes to Amenophis III., representing that the Assyrians are his subjects, and warns the Pharaoh not to receive an embassy which they propose to send to the Egyptian court. Whether they succeeded in obtaining from Egypt the recognition they desired is unknown, but not long after this Assyria threw off her allegiance to Babylon and became free. She had a long struggle to maintain her independence, but in the end she prevailed, and the cases were reversed. Babylonia, though she submitted sullenly, became the province of Assyria, and the latter came to the front as the chief power of the ancient world.

In the meantime another important people had appeared upon the scene. Somewhere about the eighteenth or seventeenth century B. C. a swarm of invaders from Asia Minor crossed the Taurus Mountains and succeeded in establishing a strong kingdom in northern Mesopotamia and Syria. How far southward their rule extended is uncertain, but it is probable that at one time Palestine was under their sway. This kingdom, called by the Egyptians Mitanni, was already on the decline about 1400 B. C., and at that time was hard pressed by fresh invaders of kindred race who had crossed the Taurus near the Mediterranean coast. These newcomers were the Khetta of the Egyptian inscriptions, the Khatti of the cuneiform texts, the Hittites of the Bible. They dispossessed their relatives, the Mitannians, already weakened by the incursions of the nomadic Arameans, and occupied their former territory. For a long time the Hittites maintained themselves against the attacks of Egypt on the one hand and Assyria on the other, but finally they succumbed to the steady pressure of the Aramean immigration, and were deprived of nearly all their territory. Numerous memorials of this interesting people are found throughout Asia Minor and the northern part of Western Asia. Little progress has as yet been made in

the decipherment of their inscriptions, but many centers of Hittite culture remain unexplored, and it is to be hoped that ere long a sufficient key to the mystery may be discovered.

While these events were passing in Western Asia, the Egyptians, shut in by the rocky mountain ranges that border the Nile Valley, and vulnerable only in the Delta, where proper defenses readily checked the incursions of the wild Beduin tribes of Asia, had developed that remarkable civilization whose products are still the wonder of the world. At the time their history begins the country was united under a single monarchy, though there are distinct traces of an earlier political system. They had already developed their peculiar system of writing, the hieroglyphic, and their earliest works in architecture and in art are unsurpassed by those of any later period. For many centuries Egypt was devoted to a policy of internal development, and there was no attempt at foreign expansion. Such wars as were undertaken seem designed to repel marauders from Egyptian territory, or to protect the valuable copper and malachite mines of the Sinaitic peninsula and the granite quarries near Assuan.

The Nubian tribes to the south of Assuan seem to have been early brought into subjection, but this was an absolute necessity for the safety of the southern frontier and really involved no extension of dominion. On the other hand, the policy of Chinese exclusiveness often attributed to the Egyptians did not exist. As a rich agricultural and manufacturing country it is not to be supposed that Egypt abstained from trade relations with the rest of the world, and there is ample evidence of such commercial intercourse from the earliest times. Phœnician ships traded freely in the Egyptian ports, and caravans coming down the coast of Palestine and crossing the Delta brought in the products of the near and far East. Yet it is true that for a long time Egypt was content to develop her own resources and did not seek to extend her political influence beyond her own borders. This unaggressive policy received a rude shock through the invasion of the Hyksos, who, about the eighteenth century B. C., poured in through the Delta and made themselves masters of a large portion of the country. In the long war which preceded the final expulsion of the foreign intruders the Egyptians became a military nation and tasted the fruits of victory. The eyes of their monarchs were opened to the advantages to be derived from successful warfare, and soon a large part of Syria had become subject to

Egypt, and the Egyptian arms were carried in triumph to the banks of the Euphrates. But the conquests of Egypt were never assimilated; her foreign wars were rather plundering raids on a grand scale, and the conquered districts were usually left to govern themselves in their own way, provided they acknowledged Egyptian suzerainty and regularly paid their annual tribute. Soon, moreover, the military spirit was on the wane, and dissensions at home weakened the influence of Egypt abroad. During the civil war, resulting from the attempt of Amenophis IV. to impose his peculiar religious ideas upon his people, Egypt had no leisure to devote to foreign affairs, her loosely united Asiatic provinces fell away, and soon she could barely control the districts adjoining her own frontier. In the meantime the Hittites had made their appearance in Western Asia, and now occupied the territory of their relatives and predecessors, the Mitannians. Reinforced by fresh accessions, they pushed their way farther to the south and, taking advantage of Egypt's weakness, made themselves masters of Syria. Egypt subsequently made some spasmodic efforts to regain her lost Asiatic provinces, but was unable to break the Hittite power, and, about the middle of the thirteenth century B. C., Rameses II., after a fruitless contest, concluded a treaty of alliance upon equal terms with the Hittite ruler.

With the rise of the Assyrian power the history of the East enters upon a new phase. The neighbors of Assyria to the east and north were one by one subdued, and this aggressive power was steadily extending her dominions to the west. As early as 1100 B. C. Tiglath Pileser reached the Mediterranean, and, though at this time no permanent hold was secured in this quarter, later Assyrian monarchs made frequent attempts to follow in the path marked out by their predecessor. In the eighth century B. C. Babylonia, after centuries of warfare, was finally subjugated, and at the same time the long-cherished policy of western expansion was pushed with vigor. Ere long Assyria included in her dominions Syria and the Phœnician coast, and even received tribute from the isles of the Mediterranean. The Israelite kingdom of Samaria was destroyed by Shalmaneser IV. and Sargon in 722. Judah became tributary, and Assyria was at the gates of Egypt. The latter country, alarmed for her own safety, neglected no opportunity to foment discontent against Assyria in the Palestinian states and to encourage their aspirations for independence, hoping thus to establish a bulwark

against her formidable rival. But her efforts were vain. Sennacherib, it is true, was compelled to retire from the Egyptian frontier and was detained in the East by a succession of Babylonian revolts, until he finally fell a victim to assassination in the year 681; but his son and successor, Esarhaddon, took up his father's work and carried it through successfully. He easily made himself master of the west, invaded Egypt, and reduced it to the condition of an Assyrian province. Assyria had now reached the pinnacle of her glory, and maintained her proud position for a time. Then came the great civil war between the sons of Esarhaddon and, though it ended in favor of the established government, the Assyrian Empire was shaken to its foundations. In 626 Babylon threw off the yoke, and twenty years later, in 606 B. C., her Median allies destroyed Nineveh and swept away the last trace of Assyrian dominion. Babylon fell heir to the western provinces, and, especially under the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, resumed her old position as head of the Semitic Empire of Western Asia. But her period of dominion was brief. In 538 B. C., less than a century after the fall of Nineveh, Babylon was taken by Cyrus, and Babylonia became a province of the Persian Empire. The supremacy of Western Asia had passed from the Semite to the Aryan, and many centuries were to elapse before it reverted to the kindred of its former possessors.

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HISTORY OF EGYPT

HISTORY OF EGYPT

Chapter I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

EGYPT, historically the oldest of countries, is geologically the youngest. It consists entirely of the soil deposited in comparatively recent times by the Nile. The triangle of the Delta marks the site of the ancient mouth of the river, and though the land has encroached upon the sea but slightly since the age of the Pharaohs, its height has year by year been slowly increasing. Some of the mouths of the river which were navigable streams in classical times have now ceased to be so; the Serbonian Lake has in part become dry land, while desolate marshes are now cultivated fields. To the south of the Delta—with the exception of the Fayum, which owes its fertility to the canal called Bahr Yusuf, the former feeder of Lake Mœris—Egypt is confined to the narrow strip of mud which lines both sides of the river, and is bounded by low hills of limestone or the shifting sands of the desert. The Nile now flows for 1600 miles without receiving a single tributary; the heated deserts on either bank absorb all the moisture of the air, and almost wholly prevent a rainfall, and it is consequently only where the waters of the river extend during the annual inundation, or where they can be dispersed by artificial irrigation, that cultivation and settled life are possible. This, however, was not always the case. The channels or rivers and watercourses that once fell into the Nile can still be traced on both sides of it, from the Delta to the Second Cataract; and the petrified forests that are found in the desert, one about five miles westward of the pyramids of Gizeh, and two others, an hour and a half and four hours to the east of Cairo, show that the desert was not always the barren waste that it now is. The *wadis,* or valleys, and cliffs are water-worn, and covered with boulders and pebbles, which bear witness to the former existence of mountain torrents and a considerable amount of rain; and the discovery of palæolithic implements near the Little Petrified Forest, and in the breccia

of Kurnah, at Thebes, as well as other geological indications, make it clear that the geographical and climatic changes the country has undergone have taken place since it was first inhabited by man.

It was long maintained that no traces of a prehistoric age existed in Egypt. Arcelin and the Vicomte de Murard, however, in 1868-1869, discovered numerous relics of the neolithic age at Gizeh, El Kab, and the Biban-el-Muluk, or Valley of the Kings, at Thebes; and Hamy and Lenormant in 1869 collected further specimens of the same early epoch. Since 1891 the excavations of Petrie, De Morgan, Amélineau, and others have brought to light prehistoric cemeteries in many parts of Egypt, from Cairo to the Wadi Halfa, but especially in the neighborhood of Nagada and Abydos, with a rich store of pottery, stone implements, ornaments, and other memorials of the primitive race whose burial places were thus uncovered. Thanks to these discoveries, there are now abundant traces of the existence of man in the Nile Valley far back into the neolithic, perhaps even as early as the palæolithic, period.

It is impossible to calculate the rate at which the deposit of Nile mud is taking place, since the amount deposited varies from year to year, and the soil left by the inundation of one year may be entirely carried away by the next. Shafts were sunk in it in ninety-six different places at Memphis by Hekekyan Bey in 1851-1854, and in one of them, near the colossal statue of Ramses II., a fragment of pottery was found at a depth of thirty-nine feet under strata of soil which had been covered by sand from the desert. As the statue, which was erected in the fourteenth century B. C., is now ten feet below the surface, it would seem that the deposits have been increasing at the rate of 3.5 inches in each century, and that consequently the fragment of pottery is 13,530 years old. Such calculations, however, are exceedingly precarious, and at Heliopolis the alluvial soil has accumulated to a height of between five and six feet around the base of the obelisk erected by Usertesen I. (about 1976 B. C.). All we can say is, that the Delta had no existence when the Nile was still fed by a number of tributaries and flowed at a much higher level than it does at present.

In some places the river has left behind it evidence of its former level. Thus, at Abu-Simbel a line of water-worn caves on either bank, just above the heads of the sitting figures of the great rock-cut temple, proves the depth of the channel it has scooped out

for itself; while we can actually determine the date at which the First Cataract was removed from Gebel Silsileh, or Silsilis, to Assuan (Syenè), and the highest rise of the river in Ethiopia was 27 feet 3 inches above its rise at the present day. Certain inscriptions of the reign of Amen-em-hat III. of the twelfth dynasty, and of Sebek-hotep I. of the thirteenth dynasty, found at Semneh (about thirty miles south of the Second Cataract), show that this was the level to which the inundation then reached, and that the plains of Ethiopia, which are now far above the fertilizing reach of the river, were then annually inundated. Before the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, however, the catastrophe had happened; the Nile forsook its old channel, still very visible, to the southeast of Assuan, the First Cataract was formed, and the highest level of the inundation above it was that attained at present.

The earliest traces of man in Egypt since the country assumed its modern features are to be found in the stone implements and the primitive graves already mentioned. The race that has left these memorials of its existence evidently possessed a rudimentary culture and some crude notions of art, but they appear to have been of an unwarlike disposition. There is evidence, to the archæological and linguistic, to show that at a remote period they were conquered by Semitic invaders from Asia, who overran the Nile Valley, materially influencing the language of the indigenous population and contributing important elements to the civilization of the country. Egyptian culture is, therefore, partly of African, partly of Asiatic origin, and the blending must have taken place long before the time of the first historical dynasties, since the perfection of the most ancient monuments implies a very prolonged period of previous development.

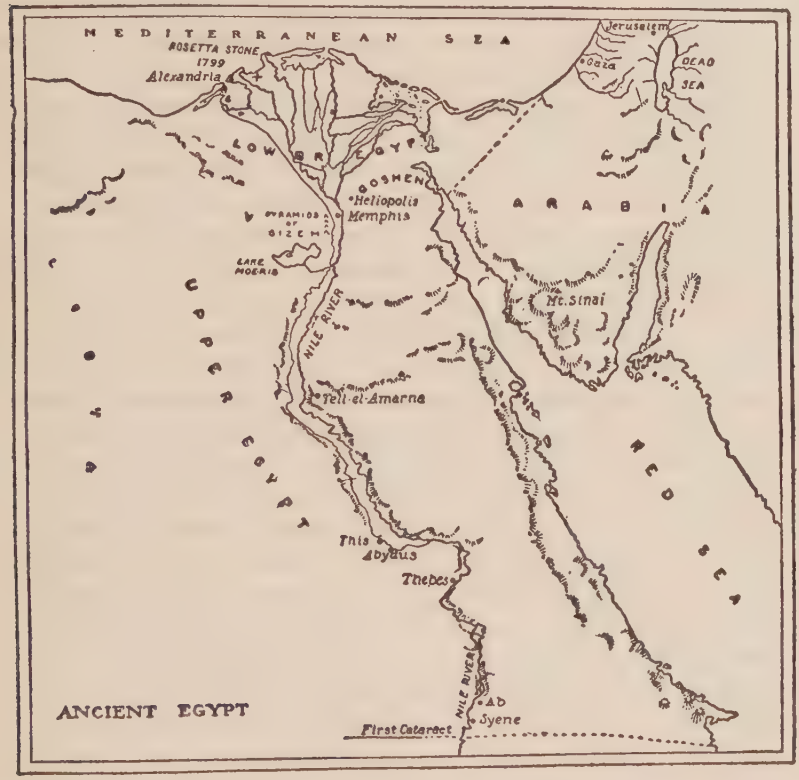
The ancient Egyptians belonged to the Hamitic branch of the Caucasian race, their nearest relatives being the Berbers of Northern Africa, and the Bisharis, Gallas, and Somalis of eastern Africa. Up to the last they show little resemblance to the negro races. Their early Semitic conquerors, though superior in arms and in military skill, were probably numerically inferior to the indigenous population, in which they were ultimately absorbed without leaving any marked impress upon the racial type. In later times various foreign elements were grafted upon the native stock. The Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty appear to have had a strain of Nubian blood. The Hyksos dominion seems to have had but

little effect upon the population, but under the New Empire (1600-1100 B. C.) there was a fresh infusion of Semitic blood through the numerous captives brought into Egypt from the Asiatic wars, and another Semitic element is represented by the Phœnicians of the Delta, who have left descendants in the neighborhood of Lake Menzaleh. The Libyans of the twenty-second and twenty-sixth dynasties and the Ethiopians of the twenty-fifth dynasty made some contributions to the population, and under the Ptolemies the Delta and the Fayum were largely peopled by Greeks. The Mohammedan invasion, in the seventh century, A. D., brought swarms of Arabs into the country, and later the Tatar Turks added a new element. But in spite of all this the ancient racial type has been comparatively little changed, and the Egyptian fellah of the present day still presents the essential characteristics of his forefathers in the early days of Egyptian history.

The language of the ancient Egyptians gives evidence in accord with that of archæology and ethnology in regard to the origin of the people. It is related on the one hand to the modern Libyan, Haussa, and Galla dialects, while on the other hand its Semitic affinity is entirely clear. The latter element is deeply rooted in the organic structure of the language, and it can hardly be doubted that it was due to the Asiatic invaders who conquered the land in the predynastic period.

Egypt naturally falls into two divisions: the Delta, formed by the mouths of the Nile, in the north; and the land fertilized by the Nile, between the Delta and the First Cataract, in the south. Below Syene and the First Cataract we are in Nubia. At the apex of the triangle formed by the Delta stood Memphis, which owed its name—*Men-nofer,* "good abode"—and its rise to importance to Pepi I. of the sixth dynasty. Older than Memphis was Tini or This, the birthplace of Menes, and in after times a mere suburb of the younger Abydos. Here was the tomb of Osiris, in the neighborhood of which every Egyptian of sufficient wealth and dignity desired to be buried. The accumulated graves formed the huge mound now known as the Kom-es-Sultan. About one hundred miles southward of This and Abydos stood Thebes, which under the Middle Empire became the metropolis of Egypt, and attained its chief glory under the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. It is doubtful whether even a village stood on the spot in the time of the Old Empire; indeed, it is possible that the popu-

lation of the district at that early epoch was still mainly Nubian. Subsequently the town extended from the east to the west bank, where the temple and palace of Ramses III. (now Medinet Abu), the Memnonium or Ramesseum,—perhaps the tomb of Ramses II.,—and the temples built by Seti I. at Kurnah, by Queen Hatasu at Deir-el-Bahri, and by Amenophis III. farther south, rose at the foot of the vast necropolis of the city. In the classical era Thebes



gave its name to the southern half of Egypt. In the extreme south, on the Egyptian side of the First Cataract, was Suan, or Syene, now Assuan, opposite to the island of Elephantine, called Ab, "the elephant" isle, by the Egyptians, from which came the sixth dynasty. Two small islands southward of Elephantine acquired the reputation of sanctity at least as early as the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, and one of them, Senem, now Bigeh-Konosso,

in the fourth and third centuries B. C., communicated its sanctity to the neighboring island of Philæ. Philæ soon became the religious center of Egypt, the reputed tomb of Osiris having been transferred to it after the decay of Abydos. The granite cliffs and boulders between Philæ and Syene furnished the material for the obelisks, the sphinxes, the colossi, and the other great monuments of the Egyptian monarchs; and the early date at which they were worked may be gathered from the fact that the so-called granite temple, close to the Sphinx of Gizeh, whose building may have preceded the reign of Menes, is constructed of blocks which must have been brought from Assuan.

Southward of the First Cataract was Nubia, and above that again Kush or Ethiopia. Nubia formed part of the kingdom of the sixth dynasty, while Usertesen III., of the twelfth dynasty, fixed the boundaries of the empire at Semneh and Kummeh; and an Egyptian officer, entitled "the Prince of Kush," first named in inscriptions of Thothmes I., whose capital was as far south as Napata, governed the country up to the age of the twenty-first dynasty. The most perfect remains of Pharaonic fortifications now existing are the fortresses of sun-dried brick erected by Thothmes III. at Kobban, opposite Dakkeh, and on both sides of the river at Semneh, thirty-five miles south of the Second Cataract.

The division of Egypt into Upper and Lower dates from the age preceding Menes, the king who, according to Egyptian tradition, united the two kingdoms in 3300 B. C. Lower Egypt, called To Meh or To Mera—"the northern country"—extended from the Mediterranean to Beni-Suef, and consequently included the marshes of the Delta, occupied in the time of the Old Empire by the long-forgotten hippopotamus, crocodile, and papyrus. It was defended from the attacks of the Amu or Semitic tribes of Western Asia by a line of fortresses stretching from Migdol in the north to the neighborhood of Suez in the south, and originally established by the founders of the eighteenth dynasty. The main channels through which the Nile flowed into the sea were seven—the Pelusiac, Tanitic, Mendesian, Bukolic or Phatnitic, Sebennytic, Bolbitinic, and Kanopic—of which two only are now navigable. The Kanopic branch, ten miles from the mouth of which Alexandria was founded under the auspices of Alexander the Great, is now represented by a marshy inlet near Abukir. In the eastern part of the Delta lay the land of Goshen, with its cities of Tanis

or Zoan, Bubastis, Pharbæthus, Pithom, and On or Heliopolis (near Cairo), not far from which was the site now known as the Tel-el-Yehudiyeh, where the Jewish priest Onias, with the aid of Ptolemy Philometor, raised the rival temple to that of Jerusalem. From Tanis and Daphnæ to Pelusium the fortified highroad led from Egypt to Palestine, along the edge of the Mediterranean. Upper Egypt, extending from Beni-Suef to Assuan, was known as To Kema, or To Res,—"the southern country,"—which, with the article *pa* prefixed, is the original of the Hebrew and Greek Pathros. Like Lower Egypt, it was divided into nomes or districts,—*hesop* in Egyptian,—supposed to represent the numerous small states of the prehistoric age out of which the historic Egypt was constituted. The government of the nome was modeled upon that of the state, and the civil and military administration was in the hands of a governor or nomarch. In the older period the nomarchs were great feudal nobles, who often made themselves practically independent of the central authority; in the time of the New Empire, when the old nobility had been swept away, they were merely officers of the crown, though they still retained the ancient title. Under the Ptolemies these nomarchs were usually termed strategoi, presided over by an epistrategos; the religious affairs of the province being managed by the high priests of the principal temples assisted by a numerous staff of prophets, scribes, astrologers, and sacristans. At the same time the nome was further subdivided into a certain number of toparchies, composed of groups of towns and villages.

The number of nomes varied at different periods. Thus the hieroglyphic list at Edfu mentions thirty-nine, nineteen being in Lower Egypt; while Diodorus and Strabo reckon thirty-six. In general, however, there were about forty nomes, twenty in Upper and twenty in Lower Egypt.

Chapter II

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

EGYPTIAN chronology is full of difficulties, and until quite recently was founded largely upon conjecture so far at least as the period preceding the seventh century B. C. is concerned. But with the appearance of Eduard Meyer's invaluable "*Aegyptische Chronologie*" (Berlin, 1904), the long existing chaos has at length been reduced to order and the subject now stands upon a fairly secure basis. Absolute accuracy will doubtless never be attained, but it can hardly be doubted that the results of Meyer's investigation give a reasonably close approximation to the truth. Our authorities are partly classical, partly monumental. The most important of the former is Manetho, a priest of Sebennytos, who was intrusted by Ptolemy Philadelphus, 284-246 B. C., with the task of translating into Greek the historical works contained in the Egyptian temples. Unfortunately Manetho's work is lost, and we have to depend for our knowledge of it upon the meager and sometimes contradictory extracts made by Josephus, Eusebius, Julius Africanus,[1] and George Syncellus.[2]

Eusebius and Africanus profess to give us Manetho's list of the Egyptian dynasties, with the length of time each lasted, and in many cases the names and regnal years of the monarchs of whom they were composed. The names and numbers, however, do not always correspond, nor does even the duration of certain dynasties agree with the totals of the reigns comprised in them, when added together. But what is most serious is that the names of the kings, and the length of time they are said to have reigned, are not infrequently irreconcilable with the statements of the monuments. Sometimes, too, reigns for which we have monumental evidence are omitted altogether. It is plain, therefore, that Mane-

[1] Bishop of Emmaus (Nikopolis) at the beginning of the third century. Only fragments of his work on Chronology in five books have been preserved. (See Routh, "*Reliquiæ Sacræ*," ii.)

[2] *i. e.* the "cell-companion" of the Patriarch of Constantinople, 800 A. D. His work was continued from 285 down to 813 by Theophanes the Isaurian.

tho's list has come to us in a very corrupt condition, and that the numbers contained in it must be received with extreme caution. Moreover, the Christian writers who have handed them down were intent on reconciling the chronology of the Egyptian historian with that of the Old Testament, and were consequently likely to curtail it as much as possible. Nevertheless, in the want of other authorities, all attempts to restore Egyptian chronology must be based upon this imperfect reproduction of Manetho, to whom, it may be observed, the distribution of the kings into dynasties is due. That Manetho himself faithfully reported the evidence of the monuments —or rather, perhaps, of the native histories compiled from them— has been abundantly proved by the decipherment of the inscriptions.

His statements, notwithstanding the imperfect state in which they have reached us, are in the main correct. The monumental names can generally be detected under their Greek disguises, the scheme of dynasties has received full confirmation, and the chronology of the Sebennytic priest seems indeed to err on the side of defect rather than of excess. Startled by the long chronology Manetho's list necessitates, Egyptian scholars formerly imagined that several of the dynasties were contemporaneous. The researches of Mariette, however, have shown that this is not the case. Thus the theory which made the fifth dynasty reign at Elephantine, while the sixth was reigning at Memphis, has been overthrown by the discovery of monuments belonging to the two dynasties in both places; and the discovery of the colossi of the thirteenth Theban dynasty at San or Tanis, near Xois, upsets the scheme according to which this dynasty was contemporaneous with the Xoites of the fourteenth.

In fact, as Mariette says, if the lists of Manetho "contain collateral dynasties, we should find in them, before or after the twenty-first, the dynasty of high-priests which (as we learn from the monuments) reigned at Thebes, while the twenty-first occupied Tanis; in the same way we should have to reckon before or after the twenty-third the seven or eight independent kings who were contemporary with it, and who ought, if Manetho had not disregarded them, to have added so many successive royal families to the list of the Egyptian priest; similarly the 'Dodecarchy' would count, at least, as one dynasty coming between the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth; and finally, the Theban princes, the rivals of the

Shepherds, would take their place before or after the seventeenth."[3] There were several periods in the history of Egypt, it is true, when more than one line of kings was ruling in the country; but it is clear that either Manetho or his epitomizers struck out all except the one line which was considered legitimate, and so drew up a catalogue of successive dynasties.

It is probable, however, that gaps occur between some of the latter. If at any period there was no dynasty which the Egyptian priests considered legitimate, it would necessarily be passed over in the annals of Manetho. Indeed, of one such period we have actual proof. No mention is made by Manetho of the so-called dodecarchy, when, for more than twenty years, Egypt was under the dominion of Assyria. The twenty-sixth dynasty is made to follow immediately upon the twenty-fifth. And there is no reason to think that this is an isolated case.

In commemorating the earlier monarchs of the country the priests of the various temples compiled selected lists of them. Thus at Abydos Seti I. is represented as honoring the spirits of sixty-five of his predecessors, beginning with Menes and ending with the last king of the twelfth dynasty, the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, who are made to follow immediately, being reckoned as twelve. At Karnak, again, Thothmes III. is pictured making offerings to the images of sixty-one of his predecessors; while a second list of kings, discovered at Abydos, in the temple of Ramses II., repeats the list given by Seti, with a few omissions. At Sakkarah, too, in the tomb of a priest named Tunari, who flourished under Ramses II., we see the dead man admitted to eternal life in the presence of fifty-eight of the earlier kings of Egypt. The principles upon which these selected lists were drawn up are still unknown to us. Certain prominent kings, such as Menes, the founder of the empire, or Kheops, the builder of the great pyramid, occur in them all, but in other parts of the lists the names chosen are different. Possibly the priests selected those monarchs who were reputed to have been benefactors to the particular shrines in which the lists are found; or perhaps the deceased is brought into spiritual relation with those who in some special way were supposed to have been his ancestors. At all events, it is one of these selected temple lists that is embodied in the catalogue of thirty-eight "Theban" kings extracted from the Greek mathematician Eratosthenes (276-194 B. C.) by Christian

[3] *Aperçu de l'Histoire ancienne d'Égypte*," p. 67.

writers. The introductory sentence, which calls Menes a Theban, shows plainly the source from which it was derived.[4]

A sketch of Egyptian history is given by Diodorus, who probably derived it from Ephorus. The sketch is on the whole fairly accurate, though the blunder of Herodotos is repeated, which placed Kheops, Khephren, and Mykerinos 2,000 years too late. Herodotos derived his information as to earlier Egyptian history from the inventive ignorance of half-caste *ciceroni,* so that we need not wonder at its utter incompatibility with the truth. In saying, however, that the 341 generations of kings who preceded Sethos extended over 11,340 years, the Greek historian has made a gratuitous mistake of his own; not only is his arithmetic at fault, but he has confounded together reigns and generations.

Some of the sources from which Manetho composed his history have been recovered and are now at our disposal. What they were we may gather from the famous Turin Papyrus, written in the time of Ramses II., and found probably in a tomb at Thebes. The carelessness of the natives who discovered it, and of the Europeans who brought it home, has unfortunately shivered it into more than 160 fragments so minute that all attempts to piece them together and restore the text have been unsuccessful. In its original condition the papyrus contained a list of the kings of Egypt from the mythical period to the sixteenth dynasty, with the exact duration of each reign in years, months, and days. The fragmentary Stone of Palermo, the inscription upon which was first published some ten years ago, furnishes similar data in regard to the Old Empire. In addition to these documents and the lists of rulers already mentioned, modern investigation has brought to light a few fixed dates from other sources, and astronomy has also lent valuable aid. All these details have been carefully utilized in Meyer's work, which fully represents all that is now attainable in the field of Egyptian chronology.[5]

Like the histories of all other great nations, this history begins with its mythical age. The first dynasty of prehistoric Egypt was believed to have consisted of the gods. Each temple had its own peculiar list of these divine monarchs, in which its presiding deity took the first place. Thus at Memphis the dynasty of gods was

[4] The list of Eratosthenes, in which an attempt is made to give the meaning of the royal names, was edited by Apollodoros of Athens (about 140 B. C.).

[5] Meyer, "*Aegyptische Chronologie*" (Berlin, 1904).

composed as follows: (1) Ptah or Hephæstos, "the father of the gods"; (2) Ra, the Sun-god, his son; (3) Shu (Agathodæmon), the Air-god, his son; (4) Seb, the earth, his son; (5) Osiris, his son; (6) Set (Typhon), the son of Seb; (7) Horos, the son of Osiris. At Thebes, on the other hand, the order was: (1) Amon-Ra, "the king of the gods"; (2) Mont, his son; (3) Shu, the son of Ra; (4) Seb, his son; (5) Osiris, his son; (6) Horos, his son; Set, the evil principle, not being reckoned among the legitimate rulers. Next to these royal gods came the Shemsu-Hor, or "successors of Horos," divided by Manetho into the two dynasties of demi-gods and Manes; among the latter, according to the Turin papyrus, being the sacred animals, the Apis of Memphis and the Mnevis of On. The reign of the Manes closed the mythical age of Egypt. They were followed by Menes of This, the founder of the united monarchy and the leader of the historical dynasties.

Modern research, however, has caught glimpses of the epoch which preceded the age of Menes, and was relegated by the Egyptian scribes to the reigns of the mysterious Shemsu-Hor. The country of the Nile seems at first to have been divided into a number of small principalities, represented in later times by the nomes, and these petty states gradually coalesced into two independent kingdoms, the South or Upper Egypt, and the North or Lower Egypt. Inscriptions bearing the names of some of the monarchs who ruled these kingdoms have been found in recent years. Later the North and the South were united into a single monarchy, and the titles of the Egyptian Pharaohs, as well as the dual organization of the government, bore witness to the fact down to the last days of Egypt's independence. At what time the union occurred is not altogether certain, but it was probably under the reign of Menes, whom a steadfast tradition regards as the first king of all Egypt.

Whoever has seen the rich plain in which the city of This once stood will easily understand how it was that the founder of the united monarchy came from there. The plain is at once one of the largest and most fertile of those in the valley of the Nile, while it is protected from attack on three sides by the Libyan hills, and on the fourth side by the river. Everything was in favor of the progress of its inhabitants in wealth and power. At any rate, it was from here, from the precincts of the tomb of Osiris himself,

that Menes or Mena, made his way northward, passing on his road the ancient kingdoms of Ni-ent-Bak (Antæopolis) and Sesunnu (Hermopolis), where Horus had defeated and slain his enemy Set, with the aid of Thoth. He is said to have founded Memphis and to have established the city as his capital, but the statement rests upon very doubtful authority.

The date to which this event was assigned by Manetho has, for reasons already given, been variously computed. Boeckh makes it 5702 B. C., Unger 5613, Mariette 5004, Brugsch 4455, Lauth 4157, Pessl 3917, Lepsius 3892, and Bunsen 3623.

This great divergence in the computations of eminent scholars emphasizes the conjectural basis upon which the chronology of the older period of Egyptian history formerly stood. It may now be confidently asserted, as a result of Meyer's researches, that the accession of Menes must be placed between 3400 and 3200 B. C., or, taking the mean between these two extremes, not far from 3300 B. C. The existing data do not permit a closer approximation.

Menes, we are told, undertook a campaign against the Libyans, and after a reign of sixty-two years was eaten by a crocodile (or hippopotamus), a legend which may have originated in the belief that Set, the enemy of order and government, revenged himself upon the successor of the royal Osiris. Teta, who followed him, was said to have written treatises upon medicine and anatomy, and the medical papyrus of Ebers contains a chapter which was supposed to have been "discovered" in his reign, while the sixty-fourth chapter of the Book of the Dead was ascribed to the same date. The second king of the second dynasty, Kakau or Kaiekhos, established or more probably regulated the worship of the bulls Apis and Mnevis, and the goat of Mendes. After him Bainuter or Binothris is said by Manetho to have determined that women as well as men might henceforward inherit the throne.

With the death of the last king of the second dynasty the line of Menes seems to have come to an end. It had apparently succeeded in welding the whole country together, and suppressing those collateral princes whose names are occasionally met with on the monuments. Of the third dynasty little is known beyond the names of the monarchs who composed it. Its most important king was Zoser, who built the so-called step pyramid of Sakkarah. The fourth dynasty was Memphite. It was founded by Snefru or

Sephuris (2840 B. C.), whose inscriptions in the Wady Magharah tell us that the turquoise mines of Sinai were worked for his benefit, and guarded by Egyptian soldiers. The lofty pyramid of Meidum is his tomb, close to which are the sepulchers of his princes and officials, still brilliant with colored mosaic work of pictures and hieroglyphics.

It is the era of the fourth dynasty that is emphatically the building era. The pyramid-tombs of Khufu (Kheops), Khafra (Khephren), and Men-ka-ra (Mykerinos or Menkheres), in the necropolis of Memphis, still excite the astonishment of mankind by their size and solidity. "The great pyramid" of Gizeh, with its two companions, towers like a mountain above the sandy plain, and neither the ruin of five thousand years nor the builders of Cairo have been able to destroy them. Khufu and Khafra, whose impiety was one of the "traveler's tales" told to Herodotos by his ignorant guides, were separated from each other by the reign of Tat-ef-Ra or Ra-tatf, of whom little is known. The statue of Khafra, of hard diorite, found by Mariette, and preserved in the Museum of Bulak, is one of the most beautiful and realistic specimens of Egyptian art, characteristic of its early phase, and illustrating the features of the Egyptians of the Old Empire. Men-ka-ra was followed by Shepses-ka-f, the Asykhis of Herodotos, who built the pyramid of brick, and was, according to Diodorus, one of the five great lawgivers of Egypt. After a few more reigns, the fifth dynasty succeeds to the fourth, and we pass to the age of Ti, whose tomb at Sakkarah is among the choicest of Egyptian monuments. Its walls of white stone are covered with delicate sculptures, brilliantly colored, and resembling the most exquisite embroidery on stone. They trace for us the scenes of Ti's life: here he is superintending his laborers in the field; here he is watching a party of carpenters or shipbuilders; here, again, he is hunting hippopotami among the papyri of the Delta, while a kingfisher hard-by is seeking, with loud cries and outstretched wings, to drive a crocodile from her young. The kings of the fifth dynasty introduced the fashion of adding a second cartouche, with the name of honor, to that which contains their names as individuals. One of them, Tat-ka-ra-Assa, who has left us monuments among the mines of Sinai, was the prince under whom the Papyrus Prisse was written by "the governor Ptah-hotep." This, the most ancient book in the world, is a treatise on practical philosophy, very like the Book of

Proverbs in the Old Testament. Thus, it tells us, that "if thou art become great after thou hast been lowly, and if thou hast heaped up riches after poverty, being because of that the chiefest in thy city; if thou art known for thy wealth and art become a great lord—let not thy heart be puffed up because of thy riches, for it is God who has given them unto thee. Despise not another who is as thou wast; be toward him as toward thy equal." Ptah-hotep must have been advanced in years at the time he wrote his book, if we may judge from the feeling language in which he describes old age.

With the fifth dynasty the Memphite dynasties come to an end. The sixth was from Elephantine. Its most illustrious monarch was Merira Pepi I. (about 2540 B. C.), whose able minister Una has left us a record of his widespread activity. Ships of war were built at the First Cataract to convey blocks of granite to the north; multitudes of negroes were enrolled in the Egyptian army for campaigns against the Semites of Asia and the Herusha or Beduins of the Isthmus of Suez; the garrisons in the Sinaitic peninsula were strengthened; and the temple of Hathor, at Denderah, built by the Shemsu-Hor in the mythical age, and repaired by Khufu, was rebuilt from the foundations according to the original plans, which had been accidentally discovered.[6]

The sixth dynasty ended, according to Manetho, with Queen Neit-akrit, or Nitokris, "with the rosy cheeks," who is said to have completed the third pyramid, left unfinished by Men-ka-ra, and, if we may believe Herodotos, avenged herself on the murderers of her brother. An age of trouble and disaster, it would seem, followed upon her death. The coypists of Manetho give but a short duration to the seventh dynasty, and the three kings placed after Neit-akrit by the Turin Papyrus are made to reign severally only two years, a month, and a day, four years, two months, and a day, and two years, a month, and a day.

With the close of the sixth dynasty we may also date the close of the Old Empire. For several centuries the history of Egypt is a blank. A few royal names are met with on scarabs, or in the tablets of Abydos and Sakkarah, but their tombs and temples have not yet been found. When the darkness that envelops them

[6] Wiedemann doubts this, and believes that the whole story was invented in the time of Thothmes III., the real builder of the temple, in order to give the shrine the reputation of antiquity.

is cleared away, it is with the rise of the eleventh dynasty and the Middle Empire. How long it lasted we do not know, but the period cannot have been a short one. Profound changes have taken place when the veil is once more lifted from Egyptian history. We find ourselves in a new Egypt; the seat of power has been transferred to Thebes, the physical type of the ruling caste is no longer that of the Old Empire, and a change has passed over the religion of the people. It has become gloomy, introspective, and mystical; the light-hearted freedom and practical character that formerly distinguished it are gone. Art, too, has undergone modifications which imply a long age of development. It has ceased to be spontaneous and realistic, and has become conventional. Even the fauna and flora are different, and the domestic cat, imported from Nubia, for the first time makes its appearance on the threshold of history.

Thebes is the capital of the Middle Empire, and a new deity, Amon, the god of Thebes, presides over it. Its princes were long the vassals of the legitimate dynasties of Herakleopolis, and the first of whom we know, Entefa, claimed to be no more than the hereditary ruler of the Thebaid. His successor, Mentu-hotep I., assumed the title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and founded the eleventh dynasty. Under Seankh-ka-ra, the last Pharaoh of this dynasty, an important expedition was sent to Punt (the Somali coast) and returned thence with a large amount of incense gum and other products of the country. The era of Theban greatness, however, begins with the Amen-em-hats and Usertesens of the twelfth dynasty. Its founder, Amen-em-hat I. (about 2000 B. C.) won the throne by war, and followed the fashion of the old Memphite kings by building for himself a pyramid. We possess in the Sallier Papyrus the instructions which he is said to have written for his son. The relations between Egypt and the adjoining districts of Palestine are revealed to us in the story of an adventurer named Saneha, who is made to fly from the court of the Theban monarch to that of Ammuenshi, King of Tennu in Edom, where, like David, the Egyptian killed a "champion," famous for his strength and size. The obelisk which marks the site of Heliopolis, near Cairo, was raised by Usertesen I., the son and successor of Amen-em-hat; it is the oldest of which we know. It characterizes the Middle Empire, just as the pyramid characterized the Old Empire. Meanwhile, new colonists were sent to Sinai, and the

turquoise mines were reopened. The Nubians and negroes of Aken and Kush were conquered, and in the eighth year of the reign of Usertesen III. the southern boundary of the empire was fixed at the fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh, thirty-five miles beyond the Second Cataract, no negro being allowed to come northward of them, except for purposes of trade. Here in succeeding reigns the height of the inundation was marked year by year on the rocks, from which we learn that its highest rise was 27 feet 3 inches above its rise at the present day. The great work of Amen-em-hat III. was the formation of the modern province of the Fayum. This district forms a natural basin of low levels and in ancient times was filled with water from the Nile. By a system of embankments Amen-em-hat confined the water within the limits of the celebrated Lake Moeris, and reclaimed more than twenty thousand acres of fertile land. The last remaining portion of Lake Moeris is the modern Birket-el-Karun. It is possible that Amen-em-hat peopled the district with the captives he had carried away from the south. We know from the paintings on the tomb of Prince Khnum-hotep at Beni-hassan that the immigration of the Semites into the Delta had already begun in the reign of Usertesen II. In the sixth year of the latter's reign a family of thirty-seven Amu or Semites arrived with their asses and goods, and craved permission to settle on the banks of the Nile. We may still see them with their black hair and hooked noses, and Phœnician garments of many colors like the one which Joseph wore.

The period of Egyptian history beginning with the thirteenth and ending with the seventeenth dynasty is one of great obscurity. According to Manetho, as cited by Eusebius, the thirteenth dynasty was from Thebes and comprised 60 kings who reigned 453 years, while the fourteenth dynasty, from Khois, the modern Sakha in the Delta, was made up of 76 kings whose reigns aggregated 484 years. Though these figures are certainly far too high, it seems clear that there was a long succession of monarchs, many of them doubtless usurpers, whose very brief reigns afford an indication of the anarchic conditions prevailing in the land. The names of a number of these princes are found upon the monuments, but the order of their succession is difficult to determine. Under these conditions the power of Egypt steadily declined, and her weakness invited attack from without. Toward the end of the fourteenth dynasty the land was invaded by a horde of barbarians from Asia,

who soon made themselves masters of the Delta and of the greater part of the Nile Valley.

These foreign invaders were the celebrated Hyksos, people whose origin has given rise to much discussion. Perhaps the most probable theory is that which connects them with the Mitannians, a Proto-Armenian or Hittite people who seem at this time to have ruled over northern Mesopotamia, and a considerable portion, at least, of Syria. In any case it is certain that the Hyksos were masters of Syria before coming to Egypt, and they brought many Semites in their train. The name *Hyksos* has usually been explained as meaning "Shepherd kings," from *hyk,* "ruler," and *shôs,* "shepherd," but this explanation, though attributed to Manetho, seems to be a later interpolation. Moreover, the variant reading *Hykussos,* found in Eusebius, points to the Egyptian *hyku-khesu,* "foreign rulers," as the true original of the name. Hyksos monuments are rare; after their expulsion the Egyptians did their utmost to destroy all that reminded them of the hated strangers, and modern investigations prove that the work of destruction was thoroughly done.

According to Manetho, the Hyksos formed dynasties fifteen and sixteen, and their rule lasted for 511 years,[7] but these figures are evidently far too high. Moreover, dynasty sixteen seems to be merely an erroneous repetition of dynasty fifteen, and there can be little doubt that the latter dynasty, with its six monarchs, whose names are given by Manetho, constituted the whole series of the

[7] This number is obtained from the valuable fragment of Manetho preserved by Josephus ("Cont. Ap." i. 14, 15). Africanus and Eusebius are hopelessly confused. Africanus makes the fifteenth dynasty consist of 6 "Phœnician" kings, reigning in all 284 years; but the number of years assigned to each does not always agree with that given by Josephus, and the leader of the dynasty, Salatis, is confounded with Saites, the leader of the seventeenth. Africanus further makes the sixteenth dynasty consist of 32 "Greek" Shepherd kings and last 518 years, the seventeenth dynasty consisting of 43 Shepherd kings for 151 years. Eusebius, on the other hand, passes over two of the Shepherd dynasties, and, doubtless following the example of Manetho, reckons the contemporary native princes at Thebes as alone legitimate. His fifteenth dynasty consequently consists of Thebans for 250 years, and his sixteenth dynasty also of 5 Thebans for 190 years. In the seventeenth dynasty he enumerates 4 Phœnician Shepherd kings for 103 years, though 43 independent sovereigns had time meanwhile to reign at Thebes. While, therefore, according to Africanus, the Shepherds occupied the country for 953 years, according to Eusebius the contemporary Theban dynasties extended over only 543 years (or, supposing the seventeenth dynasty to be contemporary with the latter, only 440 years). The numbers are plainly exaggerated, and the round numbers in Eusebius suspicious.

Hyksos kings. The period of the Hyksos domination cannot, therefore, have lasted longer than about 150 years, or from a little before 1700 until a little after 1600 B. C.

Like the Moors in Spain, the Hyksos seem never to have succeeded in reducing the whole of Egypt to subjection, though the few native princes who managed to maintain themselves in the south were no doubt tributary to the earlier Hyksos monarchs; and monuments of Kheyan and Apepi II. have been found at Gebelen, south of Thebes. Gradually, however, the power of the Hyksos became weaker, the tributary princes made themselves independent, and the governor of Thebes collected around him a rival court. Meanwhile the Hyksos kings had fully submitted themselves to the influence of Egyptian civilization. They had adopted the manners and customs, the art and literature, even the religion and the gods, of their conquered subjects. They gave themselves the titles of their predecessors, and raised temples and sphinxes in honor of the deities of Egypt. Zoan or Tanis was made their capital and adorned with splendid buildings, so that its foundation could well be ascribed to them. Here they surrounded themselves with the scribes and savants of both Egypt and Asia, and a mathematical papyrus written under their patronage has survived to tell us of the culture they professed. Their hold upon the country was confirmed by the construction of two fortresses at Hat-Weret or Avaris, in the Sethroite nome, and Sherohan[8] on the frontier.

But the rule of the Hyksos was drawing to a close. The historical romance, preserved in the first Sallier Papyrus, seems to embody a popular tradition that the war which resulted in their expulsion had its origin in religious causes. However this may be, Sekenen-Ra, prince of Thebes, finally felt himself strong enough to cast off the foreign yoke, and the struggle for independence was begun. The foreigners were driven from one frontier to another and, though Sekenen-Ra was killed in battle, the war was vigorously carried on by his successors, Kames and Aahmes. Avaris was captured in the fifth year of the last-named prince and Sherohan in the sixth, and Egypt was now free. Aahmes founded the eighteenth dynasty and the New Empire (1580 B. C.), and with it a new era of prosperity and glory for the country of his ancestors.

The same outburst of vigor and military activity that followed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain followed also the expulsion of the Hyksos. The injuries Egypt had endured at the hands of

[8] Sharuhen in Josh. xix. 6.

Asia were avenged upon Asia itself. The old policy of exclusiveness and non-interference in Asiatic affairs was renounced, the war was carried into the East, and the boundaries of the empire were laid on the banks of the Euphrates. Palestine was occupied by Egyptian garrisons, and in thus flinging herself upon Asia, Egypt became an Asiatic power. The penalty was paid by a future generation. Asiatic customs and aspirations penetrated into the kingdom of the Pharaohs, the population and the court itself became semi-Asiatic, and, exhausted by the efforts it had made, Egypt at last fell a prey to internal dissensions and the assaults of foreign enemies.

But for a time, under the great monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, the brilliant policy they had inaugurated seemed eminently successful. Time after time their armies marched out of "hundred-gated Thebes," returning with new rolls of conquered provinces, with the plunder and tribute of the East, and with trains of captives for the erection of the gigantic monuments in which the spirit of the conquerors sought expression. The city-like ruin of Karnak, with its obelisks and columns and carvings, the huge monoliths of granite that watched over the plain of Thebes, the temple of Abu-Simbel, hewn out of a mountain and guarded by colossi, whose countenances betokened the divine calm of undisputed majesty, were all so many memorials of titanic conceptions and more than human pride. Nobler and better than these, however, were the earlier monuments of a Thothmes or a Hatasu, in which Egyptian art gave utterance to its renaissance in delicately finished and brilliantly painted sculpture on stone. The little temple of Amada in Nubia, built by Thothmes III. in honor of his young wife, or the ruined walls of Queen Hatasu's temple at Deir-el-Bahri, on which is carved the story of Egyptian exploration in the land of Punt, are, in the artist's eyes, worth far more than the colossal monuments of Ramses II.

The first care of Aahmes or Amasis, after driving out the foreigner, was to unite Egypt again into a single monarchy. The old feudal nobility had been exterminated in the Hyksos wars, and the repeated defeat of the Nubians placed the country between the Cataracts once more in Egyptian hands. But it was his second successor, Thothmes I., who was the first of a long line of great conquerors. In the south he added the Soudan to Egypt, and appointed "a governor of Kush"; in the east he carried his arms as far as

Naharina, or the land of the Orontes. But his achievements were eclipsed by those of his grandson, Thothmes III. (1501-1447 B. C.). For a while his aunt Hatasu ruled as regent with more than masculine energy and ability, and her young nephew was believed in later legend to have fled, like the god Horos, to the marshes of Buto in the north. The loftiest obelisk in the world was, by her orders, carved out of the granite rocks of Assuan, engraved, floated down the Nile, and set up at Karnak, in the short space of seven months. Stately temples rose at her command, and a voyage of discovery was made to the land of Punt (the Somali coast), whence the explorers brought back strange plants and stones and animals, among them a chimpanzee. For fifteen years Hatasu ruled supreme. Then the youthful Thothmes, grown to man's estate, claimed and received a share in the government, and six years later the queen died.

As a military power, as the arbiter of the destinies of the ancient civilized world, Egypt reached its zenith under the sway of Thothmes. During his long reign of fifty-three years, eleven months, and four days, the country was covered with monuments, and became the center of trade and intercourse. Countless treasures flowed into it, and Thebes took rank as the capital of the world. A royal botanical and zoological garden was established, stocked with the curious plants and animals the king had brought back with him from his campaigns, among which we may recognize the *mama* or dom-palm. In the year after his aunt's death he shattered the combined Canaanite forces, under the Hittite king of Kadesh on the Orontes, at Megiddo, where the enemy left behind them, among other spoil, chariots of silver and gold that had been made in Cyprus. A fortress was built at the foot of Lebanon, near Arados, to secure the new conquests. But it needed fourteen campaigns before the adjoining districts could be thoroughly subdued, and in the course of these we hear of the Egyptian king hunting elephants near the town of Ni, midway between Carchemish and Kadesh. After this, year by year, tribute and taxes of every kind came in regularly to the Egyptian treasury from the towns of Palestine, Phœnicia, and northern Syria. Kush, too, sent its offering, and Egyptian officials visited the Soudan; while Punt—the coast of Somali—poured its products into the trading vessels of the Egyptian king.

His successors, Amen-hotep or Amenophis II., Thothmes IV.,

and Amenophis III., maintained the empire they had inherited, with occasional raids upon the negroes, for the sake partly of slaves, partly of the gold found in their country. The two colossi in the plain of Thebes, one of them the miracle-working Memnon of classical days, are statues of Amenophis III. The successor of Amenophis III. was Amenophis IV., his son by his favorite wife Teie, a lady who was apparently not of royal birth. Amenophis IV. was a fanatical reformer who endeavored to supersede the old polytheistic religion of Egypt by the exclusive worship of the Sun as the supreme source of life and power. Open war soon broke out between him and the priests. By royal edict the sacred names of Amon and Mut were erased from the monuments of Egypt, the king's own name was changed to Khu-en-Aten—"the splendor of the solar disk," and Thebes, the city of Amon, with all its temples and monuments of victory, was abandoned, in order that a new capital might be founded at Tell-el-Amarna. Here a magnificent temple was built to the new divinity of the Pharaoh, and all the resources of Egyptian art were lavished upon its adornment. It would seem that the king had originally intended to plant this in the city of Thebes itself, and that his retirement to his new capital was an enforced flight. Here he surrounded himself by his relations and the converts to the new doctrines—one of the latter, Meri-Ra, being made high priest of his temple, and adorned with a golden chain. In the meantime Egypt, weakened by internal dissensions, was unable to maintain a firm hold upon her Asiatic provinces. A clear picture of Egypt's foreign relations during this period is given by the invaluable collection of letters and dispatches found, in the winter of 1887-1888, in the archive chamber of Amenophis IV. at Tell-el-Amarna. These letters, inscribed on tablets of clay in the Babylonian cuneiform writing and composed, with few exceptions, in the Babylonian language, proceed from a multitude of petty princes and Egyptian officials in Palestine and Phœnicia, as well as from the kings of more distant countries, like Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylon. A portion of them are addressed to Amenophis III., but the majority date from the reign of his son and successor. The letters from the more distant Asiatic provinces are uniformly friendly in tone, and refer to treaties with Egypt, to mutual alliances by marriage, to commercial relations, and to the interchange of gifts. With the close, apparently, of the reign of Amenophis III. begins a series of letters and dispatches

from Syria and Phœnicia indicating the decadence of the Egyptian power in those countries. Revolt after revolt is reported, and the aid of more troops is constantly demanded. The cities are all falling away from the king; the friends of Egypt are few and weak, and surrounded by powerful enemies; unless promptly supported by strong reinforcements they can no longer hold out, and the whole country must soon be lost to the Pharaoh. Amenophis, thoroughly occupied by his bitter contest with the adherents of the old religion, was in no position to render effective aid, and the close of his reign saw Egypt shorn of all the foreign possessions gained by the prowess of his warlike predecessors. He died, leaving seven daughters and no sons, and was followed by two of his sons-in-law and an officer of his court, the "divine father" Ai, whose united reigns hardly filled up a single generation. Ai had married the foster-mother of Khu-en-Aten, and during his short reign seems to have carried out a vigorous policy. He returned to the orthodox worship of Amon, and was accordingly allowed a place in the royal burial-ground of Thebes by the priests. But his death was the signal for fresh dissensions, which were healed only by the accession of Hor-em-heb, the Armais—not Horos—of Manetho (whose list of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty is in the greatest confusion). Hor-em-heb seems to have been related to the royal family either by birth or marriage, and, as the champion of orthodoxy, his pretensions to the throne were supported by the powerful priesthood of Amon. He enlarged the great temple of Amon at Thebes, reconquered Kush, and received tribute from Punt. With him the eighteenth dynasty came to an end.

Ramses (Ramessu) I., the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, reigned for a few years about 1320 B. C., but nothing is known in regard to the circumstances attending his accession to the throne. It is possible that he was in some way related to Hor-em-heb. He waged war in Nubia, and probably made a treaty of peace with the Khetta or Hittites, now the most powerful people in Western Asia. His son, Seti Menephthah I., or Sethos, the builder of the great hall of columns at Karnak and the principal temple of Abydos, once more restored the waning military fame of Egypt. The incursions of the Beduins into the Delta were mercilessly avenged. Palestine was overrun from one end to the other, and the territory of the Prince of Kadesh on the Orontes was invaded. Here, however, Seti came in contact with the Hittite forces, and, though

he claims a victory, his progress seems to have been effectually checked. A new enemy had meanwhile appeared on the coast in the shape of the Libyans. They were, however, defeated, and Thebes was filled with the spoil of the stranger.[9] Seti was succeeded by his son, Ramses II., the *grand monarque* of Egypt. His long reign (1300-1234 B. C.), his colossal buildings, his wars, and the victories he claimed, all make him the prototype of Louis Quatorze. The earlier portion of his reign was spent in war with the Hittites, who occupied the former Asiatic possessions of Egypt as far as the borders of Palestine. In two campaigns he gained possession of southern Phœnicia as far as Beyrut, and in his fifth year he moved against the important city of Kadesh on the Orontes. The Hittites summoned their allies from the farthest regions of their empire, and came to the aid of the threatened city. It was here that Ramses saved himself from an ambush of the enemy, partly perhaps by his personal bravery, partly by the swiftness of his horses. But the event was made the subject of a long heroic poem, wherein it was treated with true epic exaggeration; the interference of the gods was freely invoked, and the achievement transferred to the region of myth. But the vanity of Ramses never wearied of reading the legend in which he played the leading part. The poem was inscribed on the walls of Abydos, of Luxor, of Karnak, of Abu-Simbel,—everywhere, in short, where the *grand monarque* raised his buildings and allowed his subjects to read the record of his deeds. As a matter of fact his victories over the Hittites were Kadmeian ones. At one time the Egyptian generals prevailed over the enemy, and the statues of Ramses were erected in the city of Tunep, or carved in stone at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, while hymns of victory were sung at Thebes, and gangs of captives were lashed to work at the monuments of the mighty conqueror; but at another time the tide of fortune changed, and Carchemish rather than Thebes had reason to triumph. The long struggle finally came to an end, and, in the twenty-first year of Ramses, the Egyptian Pharaoh and Kheta-sira, "the great king of the Hittites," entered into an alliance, defensive and offensive, upon equal terms. The treaty was engraved on a tablet of silver, and a copy was sculptured

[9] It is difficult to determine the exact extent of Seti's success, since, like many other Egyptian kings, he has at Karnak usurped the inscriptions and victories of one of his predecessors, Thothmes III., without taking the trouble to draw up a list of his own.

on the walls of the temples of Ramses. Thirteen years later it was further cemented by the marriage of Ramses with the daughter of the Hittite king.

Meanwhile raids were made upon the hapless negroes in the south, and Askalon, which had dared to resist the will of the Egyptian monarch, was stormed and sacked. The Libyans sent tribute, and fresh gold mines were opened in Nubia, where miserable captives rotted to death. The Israelites in Goshen built the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses, or Zoan, and colossal statues of the monarch were carved out of the granite rocks of Syene, and set up in front of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and of the Ramesseum, "the tomb of Osymandyas," at Thebes. The monolith of the Ramesseum, now shattered by earthquake, was no less than sixty feet high. But Ramses cared more for the size and number of his buildings than for their careful construction and artistic finish. The work is mostly "scamped," the walls ill-built, the sculptures coarse and tasteless. To this, however, Abu-Simbel forms a striking exception. Here, among the silent sands of Nubia, one of the world's wonders was carved in the rock. A huge and solemn temple was hewn out of a mountain, and its entrance guarded by four colossi, each with a divine calm imprinted upon its mighty features, and with eyes fixed toward the rising of the sun. Abu-Simbel is the noblest memorial left us by the barren wars and vainglorious monuments of Ramses-Sesostris.

His family must have been a large one. The temple of Abydos records the names of sixty daughters and fifty-nine sons, the fourteenth of whom, Menephthah II., was the next king. His first work was to repel a formidable naval attack by Libyans and various tribes from the north, in whom some have seen Sardinians, Sicilians, and Akhæans. They were led by the Libyan king, Marmaiu, the son of Did, and had penetrated as far as Heliopolis, sweeping over the Delta like a swarm of locusts. The invaders were almost completely destroyed, and prodigious booty fell into the hands of the royal army. This was in the fifth year of the king's reign. An inscription of Menephthah, found at Thebes in 1896, contains the only definite reference to the Israelites to be found upon the Egyptian monuments. After celebrating his victory over the Libyans, the king boasts that Palestine had been reduced to submission, that Askalon, Gezer, and Jamnia have been chastised, and that "Israel has been ravaged, its crops destroyed." Here Israel appears as a

part of the settled population of the land, and, since it is clear from the Amarna letters that the chosen people had not yet entered Canaan in the reign of Amenophis IV., the date of the Exodus must be placed, in round numbers, somewhere between 1380 and 1230 B. C. It probably occurred not long before the year 1280 B. C.

After three more inglorious reigns, the nineteenth dynasty ended in anarchy and confusion, and for a time a Syrian usurper made himself master of the country. The history of this troubled time is glanced at in the great Harris Papyrus; it is given in more detail by Diodorus Siculus, who calls the rebels Babylonians, and by Manetho, who, according to Josephus, terms their leader Osarsiph, and identifies him with Moses. Finally, Set-nekht, who seems to have been related in some way to the family of Ramses II., advanced with an army from the south, restored order, put down the rival chiefs, and united the country under one scepter. He ushered in the twentieth dynasty, and was shortly succeeded by his son, Ramses III., the Rhampsinitos of Herodotos, who had previously been co-regent with his father for a few years. Ramses III. (1200-1179 B. C.) is the last of the native heroes. Egypt was surrounded by its enemies when he assumed its double crown. The Libyans, who toward the close of the nineteenth dynasty had established themselves in the western portion of the Delta, were the first to attack it. But they were driven off after a fierce battle, in which they left 12,535 dead upon the field. The next struggle was by sea and resulted in the subjection of the warlike Philistines, who had recently effected a settlement on the Palestinian coast and were making piratical incursions into the Delta. The way being thus cleared, Ramses marched through Palestine, ravaging and plundering as he went, into the land of the Amorites, and returned home laden with booty. Then in the king's eleventh year came a new assault by the Libyans, under their chiefs Kapar and his son Mash-ashare. They had penetrated as far as the Kanopic branch of the Nile when the avenging hand of Ramses fell upon them. They were partly slain, partly drafted into the Egyptian forces, for Egypt was now obliged to depend largely upon mercenary troops. Ramses had filled his coffers with the spoil of his enemies, and now increased his wealth by building a fleet of merchantmen in the harbor of Suez, by renewing the mining stations of Sinai, and by opening mines of copper elsewhere. The construction of new temples marked the revival of Egyptian prosperity, and at Medinet-

Abu, opposite Luxor, the solitary example of an Egyptian palace that remains was erected. But with all his riches and success Ramses was not preserved from a dangerous harem conspiracy, which, however, was detected and its authors put to death. When he died he left his son, Ramses IV., a prosperous and peaceful kingdom; the empire of earlier days had gone, and Egypt was contracted to its own borders, but within those borders it was at peace. The succeeding kings of the nineteenth dynasty were all named Ramses, and each was as insignificant as his predecessor. The high priests of Amon at Thebes gradually supplanted their power, until at last all things were ripe for revolution, and the high priest Herhor set aside the legitimate heirs and seized upon the throne, 1100 B. C.

Herhor, however, did not long retain the royal dignity. About 1090 B. C. King Smendes (*Nes-bi-n-dedi*) of Tanis established a new dynasty, alone recognized by Manetho under the title of the twenty-first, and his son, Pisebkhanu I., expelled the family of Herhor, who took refuge in Ethiopia and established there a kingdom with Napata as its capital. Pinodem II., the son of Pisebkhanu, was made high priest of Amon at Thebes and, when he ultimately succeeded his father as king, the high priesthood passed in succession to his sons, Masaherta and Men-kheper-re. It was under the rule of the Tanite Pharaohs that the bodies of Thothmes III., of Ramses II., and of the other great princes of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties were transferred from their tombs to the secret cavern near Deir-el-Bahri, at Thebes, where they were interred along with the members of the family of Pinodem. In the meantime a new power appeared upon the scene. After the time of Ramses III. the immigration of the Libyans into the Delta began again, and large numbers of them were enrolled as mercenary troops in the Egyptian army. Like the Mamelukes of a later period, these troops acquired a strong influence in the state, and their commander, styled the "general of the Mashawasha," became in time second only to the king in power. This important office seems to have been hereditary, and was held under the Tanite kings by a Libyan family whose genealogy is traced in the inscriptions. About 950 B. C. a member of this family, Sheshank I., assumed the throne of Egypt and founded the twenty-second dynasty, establishing his residence at Bubastis.

Sheshank signalized his reign by overrunning Judah, Edom,

and the southern part of Israel, and capturing Jerusalem, a list of the conquered towns being engraved on the wall of Karnak. His successors, whose names have been erroneously imagined to be Assyrian, proved a race of *rois fainéants*. Egypt became once more divided among a number of petty kings, and the Ethiopian monarchs of Napata, who derived their origin from the banished family of Herhor, claimed suzerainty over their former rulers. One of these, Piankhi, has left us a record of his triumphs (circ. 750 B. C.) over Tefnekht of Sais—called Tnephakhthos, the father of Bocchoris, by Diodorus—who had captured Memphis, and made himself master of all Lower Egypt. The rebel prince himself took refuge in a stronghold called Mesed, but finally surrendered himself upon assurance of pardon and amnesty. His son, Bak-en-ran-ef, or Bocchoris, occupied the whole of Manetho's twenty-fourth dynasty. Bocchoris is said to have been captured and burned alive by the Ethiopian Shabaka or Sabako, the son of Kashta, who founded the twenty-fifth dynasty and reunited the Egyptian monarchy. He was followed first by his son Shabatuk and then by Taharka (Tirhakah or Tarakos), who married the widow of Sabako. Tirhakah, who ascended the throne about 693 or 694 B. C., found himself in possession of a prosperous kingdom,—threatened, however, by the rising power of the Assyrians, and undermined by native discontent at the rule of the Ethiopian stranger. In the twenty-third year of his reign (670 B. C.) he was attacked and driven out of Egypt by the Assyrian armies of Esarhaddon. Egypt became a province of Assyria, divided into twenty satrapies, each governed by a native prince. It was these twenty satrapies that constituted the dodecarchy of Herodotos.

The following year Tirhakah marched down from Ethiopia and endeavored to recover his lost dominion. He was aided by the satraps and people, who naturally preferred the rule of the Ethiopian to that of the Assyrian. He advanced as far as the Delta, but was driven back again by the Assyrians, and Necho of Memphis and Sais, the chief ally of Tirhakah, was sent in chains to Nineveh. Retreating as far as Thebes, the Ethiopian monarch seized upon that city and was preparing to renew the contest when he died (668-667 B. C.). His successor, Tanut-Amen, determined once more to wrest the sovereignty of Egypt from Asia. Thebes and Memphis opened their gates, and even Tyre sent help. But the Assyrians returned and executed terrible vengeance. No-Amon of

Thebes was plundered and destroyed, the ground strewn with its ruins, and its rich booty was carried off to Nineveh.[10]

But the Assyrian yoke was at last shaken off. Psamtik or Psammetikhos, the son of Necho of Sais, led the insurgents. Of Libyan origin, sprung from the house of Bocchoris, he strengthened his claim to the throne by marriage with an Ethiopian princess, the niece of Sabako. In 663 B. C. he succeeded his father as a vassal of Ashur-bani-pal, King of Assyria, but a few years later—perhaps about 660 B. C.—he renounced his allegiance, and, subduing the petty rulers that divided the country, made himself master of all Egypt. His military success was due to the aid of Greek and Carian mercenaries, furnished, it is said, by Gyges, King of Lydia, and the foreign troops were rewarded with a permanent settlement near Bubastis. With the twenty-sixth dynasty (660 B. C.) the St. Luke's summer of Egyptian history begins. The revival of peace, of power, and of prosperity was marked also by a revival of art. Sais was adorned with buildings which almost rivaled the mighty monuments of Thebes; the sacred bulls were enshrined in vast sarcophagi in a new gallery of the Serapeum; screens were introduced into the temples to hide the interior from the vulgar gaze; and a new cursive hand, the demotic, came into use. But the government had ceased to be national; it had gained its power by Hellenic aid, and from this time forward Greek influence began to prevail. The king's person is protected by a Greek bodyguard; the native soldiers desert to Ethiopia, and the oldest Ionic inscription we possess records the pursuit of them by the foreign mercenaries of Psammetikhos. The mart of Naukratis is founded by the Milesians at the mouth of the Kanopic channel, and a new class of persons, interpreters or dragomen, spring up in the country.

Necho (reigned 609-594 B. C.), the son of Psammetikhos, flung aside the old exclusive policy of Egypt, and in rivalry with the merchant cities of Ionia strove to make the Egyptians the chief trading people of the world. An attempt was accordingly made to unite the Red Sea and the Mediterranean by cutting a canal from Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and only given up after the death of 120,000 of the laborers. Phœnician ships were sent to circumnavigate Africa, and returned successful after three years' absence. But the inland trade of Asia, which passed through Carchemish and Tyre, still remained to be secured. The fall of the Assyrian Empire allowed this project also to be realized, and Josiah, who stood in

[10] The destruction of the city is alluded to in Nahum iii. 8-10.

the way of the Egyptian army, was defeated and slain. But the hymns of triumph once chanted to Amon were now replaced by an embassy to the Greek oracle of Brankhidæ, carrying with it the war tunic of the Egyptian king. Egypt was fast becoming Hellenized; the old riddle of the sphinx was being solved, and the venerable mystery of Egypt yielding to the innovating rationalism of the upstart Greek. Necho's dreams of Asiatic sovereignty were dissipated by his defeat at Carchemish at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar. His successor, Psammetikhos II., reigned but six years (594-588 B. C.); Uah-ab-ra (Hophra), or Apries, who followed (588 B. C.), aided the Syrians in their long resistance to Nebuchadrezzar. He was unable to prevent the fall of Jerusalem, but seems to have warded off a Babylonian attack on Egypt. Then came the ill-fated expedition against Cyrene and Barka, followed by the revolt of the army and the accession of Aahmes II., or Amasis, to the throne (570 B. C.). Apries and his Greek mercenaries were overthrown at Momemphis, and Apries, after holding out for nearly three years in the Delta, finally fell in battle. Amasis, a nobleman of Siuf, who had married a sister of the late king, and whose mother, Tapert, was related to Apries,[11] continued the policy of his predecessors. Naukratis was granted a charter and constitution, all Hellenes whatsoever being admitted to its privileges, and temples were raised to Hellenic gods. Meantime, Cyprus was conquered, and wealth and plenty flowed into Egypt. The end, however, was at hand. Kambyses declared war against the Egyptian king, and, led across the desert by a Greek refugee, entered Egypt (525 B. C.). Amasis died at this critical moment, and his young and inexperienced successor, Psammetikhos III., was defeated, captured in Memphis, and put to death. And so the land of Thothmes and Ramses became a dependency of the Persian Empire.

In 486 B. C. a revolt broke out under Khabash, the effect of which was to divert the preparations Darius had made for attacking Greece, and thus saved Greece and the West. But the revolt itself was crushed by Xerxes in 483 B. C., and Achæmenes Cyrus, whose tomb still exists at Murghab, the brother of Xerxes, was appointed satrap. Once more, in 463 B. C., Egypt revolted. Its leaders were Amyrtaeos and the Libyan king, Inaros. Aided by the Athenians they won the battle of Papremis and fortified themselves in Memphis. But Megabazus, the Persian general (460 B. C.), finally succeeded in capturing the Egyptian capital. Inaros was impaled,

[11] Révillout in *Revue égyptologique*, 1881, pp. 96-8.

and Amyrtaeos fled to the marshes of Elbo, his son Pausiris being appointed Persian viceroy, and Thannyras vassal king of Libya.

In 415 B. C. came the third revolt. This time the insurgents were successful. Amyrtaeos emerged from his place of refuge,—if, indeed, he were the Amyrtaeos who had escaped from the Persians nearly half a century before, and ruled over an independent Egypt for six years. His successor, Naifaarut or Nepherites I., founded the twenty-ninth or Mendesian dynasty. Then came Hakar or Akhoris, who sent help to the Spartan king Agesilaos during his campaigns against Persia (395 B. C.), and allied himself with Evagoras of Cyprus, who had driven the Persians from the island. His son was the last of the dynasty. He was followed by Nekht-hor-heb or Nektanebos I. (382-364 B. C.), the leader of the thirtieth, who intrusted the command of his fleet to the Greek Khabrias. The army of Artaxerxes was repulsed, and temples were built or restored in Lower Egypt. But it was the last effort of the old Egyptian spirit. Teher or Takhos, his successor, with the help of Agesilaos, was deposed by Nektanebos II., and fled to the Persian court. Eighteen years later Artaxerxes Okhos dispatched an army to avenge the wrongs of Teher and recover a lost province to Persia. Sidon, with its Egyptian garrison, was taken, and the Persians, aided by Greek mercenaries, besieged and captured Pelusium. The Greek garrison of Bubastis surrendered, Nektanebos fled with his treasures to Ethiopia, and the last native dynasty ceased to exist (343 B. C.)

The Persians did not enjoy their victory long. The empire soon passed from them to Alexander (332 B. C.), who was welcomed in Egypt as a deliverer. In 331 B. C. he visited the Oasis of Amon in the Libyan Desert, where he was recognized by the priests as the son of the god Amon, and in the winter of the same year he founded the city of Alexandria. On the death of Alexander (323 B. C.), and the division of his dominions, Egypt and Libya fell to the share of his general, Ptolemy, who, though he did not assume the royal title until 306 B. C., was from the first an independent ruler. Under his able rule Egypt became a power of the very first rank. The new capital, Alexandria, grew rapidly in power and importance, and soon became the foremost city of the world as a center of commerce and of culture. The famous museum and library, founded by Ptolemy, exerted a profound influence and attracted to Alexandria men of science and letters from all parts of

the Hellenic world. In 285 B. C. Ptolemy I., who was surnamed Soter (the Preserver), abdicated in favor of his son, Ptolemy II., and died two years later at the age of eighty-four. Under the peaceful reign of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (285-247 B. C.) Egypt prospered greatly; her maritime supremacy was supported by a powerful fleet, and a great trade developed, both upon the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Literature and science were diligently fostered by Philadelphus, who is said to have suggested the preparation of Manetho's Egyptian history from native sources. Tradition also alleges that the king caused the Hebrew Scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy (or seventy-two) elders sent from Jerusalem at his request. But the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, so-called from the traditional seventy translators, was not the work of a single generation, though it is not impossible that the Pentateuch may have been translated as early as the reign of Philadelphus. Ptolemy III. Euergetes, who reigned from 247 to 222 B. C., overran the Seleucid dominions in Asia, and gained possession of Cœle Syria and Antioch. Under his reign Egypt reached the highest point of military glory, prosperity and wealth; henceforth there was a steady decline. In the reign of Ptolmey IV. Philopator (222-205 B. C.) Antiochus III. seized Cœle Syria and Palestine and, though they were recovered by Philopator, who signally defeated the Syrian king at Raphia, Antiochus took advantage of the minority of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (205-181 B. C.), the son and successor of Philopator, to gain possession of these provinces, and they were henceforth lost to Egypt. Under Ptolemy VII. Philometer (181-146 B. C.) Antiochus IV. twice invaded Egypt and would have made himself master of the country had not the Roman envoy, M. Popilius Lænas, intervened and ordered Antiochus back to Syria. With Ptolemy XII. (81-80 B. C.), surnamed Alexander II., the legitimate line of the Ptolemies came to an end. His successor, Ptolemy XIII. (81-51 B. C.), surnamed Neos Dionysus or Auletes (the Piper), was the natural son of Ptolemy X. Lathyros. He was addicted to every kind of vice and debauchery, and was undoubtedly the most idle and worthless of the Ptolemies. When he died (51 B. C.) he left his kingdom to his daughter, the famous Cleopatra, and his eldest son, Ptolemy XIV., who was to marry his sister, and appointed the Roman people his executors. Cleopatra was married successively to her two brothers, Ptolemy XIV. (51-47 B. C.) and Ptolmey XV. (47-45 B. C.), and caused Caesarion, her son by Julius

Caesar, to be associated with her on the throne under the title of Ptolemy XVI. (45-30 B. C.). Through her influence over Cæsar and Antony she managed to preserve a nominal independence for Egypt, but after the defeat of Antony at the battle of Actium and his subsequent suicide, Cleopatra, learning that Octavian was resolved to exhibit her in his triumph at Rome, died by her own hand, and Egypt became a Roman province under the government of a prefect of equestrian rank.

Under the Roman rule occasional revolts had to be suppressed, the fierce desert tribes of the Blemmyes were often troublesome, and the country was invaded by the Ethiopians (24 B. C.) and by Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra (270 A. D.); but on the whole Egypt remained a quiet possession of the empire. Under the earlier Roman emperors the old religion was protected and many temples were built or restored. Christianity was early introduced, and spread so rapidly that before the middle of the third century A. D. there were twenty bishoprics in Egypt, and five provincial councils were held there before the year 311. The new religion was severely persecuted at times, but in 391 A. D. paganism was suppressed, except in the island of Philæ, and Christianity was established as the state religion. A long and bitter contest between the schismatic Monophysite Copts and the orthodox (Greek) Christians, called by their opponents Melchites, finally ended in the predominance of the former, who, at the beginning of the sixth century, were in possession of nearly all the churches. In 536 they separated from the Greek communion and elected a patriarch of their own. In 619 Egypt was invaded and Alexandria was taken by the Persians under Chosroes, but they were expelled ten years later by Heraclius, who persecuted the Copts and banished their patriarch.

The conquest of Egypt by the Mohammedan Arabs (639-641) was undoubtedly both welcomed and assisted by the native Christians, who were greatly embittered against their Greek rulers. 'Amru, the general of the Caliph Omar, captured Pelusium in 639 and founded Fostat, now Old Cairo, in 640. In December, 641, Alexandria surrendered after an obstinate defense, and soon all Egypt was in the hands of the Moslems. For more than two centuries the country was governed by viceroys appointed by the Caliphs of Damascus and Bagdad, but in 868 one of the viceroys, Ahmed-ibu-Tulun, made himself independent Sultan of Egypt, and extended his rule over Syria as well. From 969 to 1171 Egypt was

the seat of government of the Fatimite Caliphs, whose beneficent rule greatly increased the material prosperity of the country. Agriculture and commerce flourished, and the population increased at a most remarkable rate. At the same time the Moslem capital, Cairo, became one of the greatest centers of religion and learning in Islam. In 1171 the Fatimite dynasty was overthrown by Saladin (Salah-ed-Din Yusuf ibn-Ayub), who founded the dynasty of the Ayubites (1171-1250), and united a considerable portion of the Mohammedan world under his sway. In 1219 Damietta was captured by the Crusaders, but was recovered two years later by Saladin's nephew, the Sultan Melik-el-Kamil. In 1249 Damietta was again occupied by a crusading army under Louis IX. (Saint Louis) of France, but the Crusaders were totally defeated at Mansurah, and Louis himself was made prisoner. In the meantime a new power had arisen in Egypt. The successors of Saladin had organized a body of Turkish slaves, trained to arms from their youth, and these soldiers, the celebrated Mamelukes (from the Arabic *mamlûk,* plural *mamalik,* "slave") formed the flower of the army and soon acquired a powerful influence. In 1250 the Bahree Mamelukes—so-called from their quarters in the island of Rodah in the Nile (*Bahr*)—who had composed the bodyguard of the Sultan Melik-es-Salih, aided Es-Salih's widow to seize the throne, and she strengthened her position by marrying the Ameer Eybek, the commander of her forces. Eybek was proclaimed under the title of El-Melik-el-Mo'izz, but was murdered seven years later, and in 1260 the Mameluke chief, Beybars, was chosen sultan by the ameers. The rule of the Bahree Mamelukes lasted till 1382, when Barkuk, a Circassian slave, made himself master of Egypt and founded the dynasty of the Burgee or Circassian Mamelukes. The reign of Barkuk is remarkable for the skill and energy with which he defended his dominions against the attacks of Timur and Bajazet. In 1517 Tuman Bey, the last of the Mameluke sultans, was defeated after a heroic resistance by the Turks under Selim I. and Egypt ceased to be an independent kingdom, though for several centuries thereafter the Mameluke chiefs retained much of their former power. The government was committed to a Turkish pasha assisted by a council of seven, and the country was divided into twenty-four military provinces under Mameluke beys, one of the latter holding the important post of Sheikh-el-Beled or Governor of the Metropolis. In course of time the beys, who commanded the militia and collected the taxes in their

respective districts, absorbed all the real power, until little more than a nominal authority was left to the pasha, and the government became a military oligarchy. In 1768 Ali Bey, who had been Sheikh-el-Beled, threw off his allegiance to the Porte and made himself independent sovereign of Egypt, but he was expelled a few years later and, while endeavoring to regain his lost dominion, was captured and died by poison.

In 1798 Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt, took Alexandria by assault, and defeated the Mamelukes near the Pyramids. But his fleet was destroyed at Abukir by the English under Nelson and, though in the following year the French gained possession of Middle and Upper Egypt, they were compelled by an English army to evacuate the country in 1801. After the departure of the French troubles broke out between the Porte and the Mameluke beys, and a number of serious conflicts took place. The situation was complicated, in the spring of 1803, by the revolt of the Albanian troops in the Turkish service, who seized the citadel of Cairo and forced the pasha, Mohammed Khusruf, to flee from the city. Tahir Pasha, the commander of the Albanians, assumed the government, but was murdered three weeks later by some of his Turkish troops, and the leadership of the Albanian faction devolved upon Mehemet Ali, whose rise to power dates from this time. This remarkable man was born in 1769 at Cavalla, a small town in Albania, and was sent to Egypt in 1800 to serve against the French as captain of a company of infantry raised in his native place. At the beginning of the troubles with the Mamelukes he was promoted by Khusruf Pasha to the command of an Albanian corps, and his great ability and clever policy soon gained him a position of commanding influence. As leader of the Albanian party he skillfully contrived to hold the balance of power and, in 1805, aided by the citizens of Cairo, with whom he was exceedingly popular, he expelled the tyrannical and oppressive Khursheed Pasha and made himself governor in his stead. His formal investiture in the office by the Porte followed immediately, but for some years his authority was disputed by the Mamelukes, who were encouraged by the expectation of help from England. In March, 1807, a British force under General Fraser landed at Alexandria, but detachments of it sent to attack Rosetta were defeated and General Fraser, receiving no efficient coöperation from the Mameluke beys, was obliged to take his departure in September.

On March 1, 1811, Mehemet Ali's favorite son, Tusum, was invested with the command of the army about to march against the Wahabees, a Mohammedan sect who had gained possession of the greater part of Arabia, and all the Mameluke beys then in Cairo were invited to the citadel to witness the ceremony. They accepted the invitation without suspicion and, on repairing to the citadel, were ruthlessly butchered to the number of 470 by the pasha's Albanian troops. At the same time orders had been sent out to all the local governors, and a general massacre of the Mamelukes took place throughout Egypt. Having thus effectually crushed all opposition to his rule at home, Mehemet Ali, at the urgent command of the Porte, dispatched his army against the Wahabees, and the war continued, with an interval of peace in 1815-1816, until 1819. Nubia, Sennaar, and Kordofan were next reduced, and in 1821 and 1822 Mehemet Ali sent a large force to aid the Porte in suppressing the Greek insurrection, and he continued to take part in that struggle until 1828. In the meantime he had formed a new army of native Egyptian and Nubian troops, designed to replace the unruly Albanians, and in 1823 it amounted to 24,000 men thoroughly trained by French officers. The defeat of Turkey in the war with Russia (1828-1829) afforded Mehemet Ali a favorable opportunity to gain his independence from the Porte, and in October, 1831, his army, under his son, Ibrahim Pasha, marched against Acre. In less than a year Syria was in the hands of the Egyptians, and Ibrahim's army was in Asia Minor, within six days' march of Constantinople, when his advance was checked by the intervention of the European powers, and a treaty was concluded (May 14, 1833) whereby Mehemet Ali secured the sovereignty of Syria as far as the Taurus Mountains. War broke out again in 1839, and, though Ibrahim crushed the Turkish army at Nisibin, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, the intervention of England in 1841 compelled Mehemet Ali to yield Syria and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Porte. After this he occupied himself exclusively with internal affairs until 1848, when he developed symptoms of mental disease, and his son, Ibrahim, was invested with the government, but died the same year. Mehemet Ali died on August 3, 1849, at his palace of Shubra near Cairo. The successor of Ibrahim was his nephew, Abbas I., son of Tusun, a bigoted Moslem, who was opposed to all European innovation. He died in 1854 and was succeeded by his uncle Said, the fourth son of

Mehemet Ali, who pursued a totally different policy. He introduced important administrative reforms, abolished some of the oppressive government monopolies, encouraged the building of railroads, and granted the concession for the Suez Canal. Said died in 1863 and was succeeded by his nephew Ismail, son of Ibrahim, an able and energetic ruler whose European education had imbued him with the spirit of progress. Under his administration railroads and telegraph lines were constructed, the postal service was placed upon a thoroughly efficient footing, the military schools founded by his grandfather were reorganized, and the Suez Canal, which he had done much to foster, was opened in 1869. One of the greatest reforms introduced by Ismail was the abolition of the old consular courts, and the introduction of mixed courts in which Europeans and native judges sit together to try all cases in which foreigners are concerned. In 1866 Ismail obtained from the Porte a firman conferring upon him the title of Khedive (viceroy) and regulating the succession on the principle of primogeniture; and in 1872 another firman confirmed and extended his prerogatives in such way as to make him practically an independent sovereign. These concessions, however, were purchased at the cost of a large increase in the annual tribute paid by Egypt to the Porte, and the lavish expenditure of the Khedive for public works exhausted the resources of the country. Eventually the public debt grew to such enormous proportions that, through the pressure of the European powers, Ismail was forced to make over his large private estates and those of his family to the state, and to form a ministry with Nubar Pasha at its head and representatives of the powers as members. In 1879 the Khedive formed a new ministry containing no Europeans, but was promptly deposed by the powers, and his son, Tewfik, was placed upon the vice-regal throne. The debt was adjusted and the financial affairs of the country were gradually improving when, in 1881, a military revolution broke out at Cairo, headed by Arabi Bey, a colonel in the army, having for its chief object the overthrow of European influence in Egypt. The insurgents demanded the increase of the army to its normal strength, the dismissal of the prime minister, Riaz Pasha, and the convocation of a Chamber of Notables, or national parliament, to assume the government of the people as a representative body. The Khedive, besieged in his palace by the insurgents, was forced to yield to their demands; the Chamber of Notables was summoned and met at

Cairo before the end of the year; and in February, 1882, Arabi Bey was taken into the Cabinet as Assistant Minister of War. The new ministry then proceeded to pass measures designed to abrogate European influence in the political and financial administration of Egypt, but the Khedive, relying upon the support of England and France, made a firm stand against these measures. In May a French and English fleet appeared before Alexandria, where in the middle of June riots broke out and many Europeans were killed and wounded. On July 11 and 12, Alexandria was bombarded by the English ships, and on September 13 Arabi Bey was defeated and captured at Tell-el-Kebir by General Wolseley, and was subsequently exiled to Ceylon. Since then British influence has been paramount in Egypt.

In 1883 an uprising of the Nubian tribes, under a fanatical leader styled the Mahdi, overthrew the Khedive's authority in the Soudan, and the Egyptian troops, under Hicks Pasha and Baker Pasha, sent against the insurgents, were defeated. Early in the following year General Gordon was sent to the Soudan by the British Govrnment, but was not given adequate support and was besieged in Khartoum by the rebels. An army under General Wolseley was dispatched to his relief, but arrived too late; Khartoum had fallen on January 26, 1885, and General Gordon was slain. For some years after this Nubia was left to itself until, in 1894, General Kitchener began a series of campaigns resulting in the reestablishment of the authority of the government in the Egyptian Soudan, his final triumph being the battle of Omdurman, fought on September 2, 1898. The Khedive Tewfik died January 7, 1892, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Abbas II., who ruled as Khedive until he was deposed by the British as a war measure on December 18, 1914.

Chapter III

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

THE exact character of Egyptian religion has been much disputed and has called forth a number of conflicting theories. According to De Rougé, it was essentially monotheistic; other scholars see in it a pure pantheism; while Renouf makes it what has been termed henotheistic. The difficulty lies in the fact that, throughout their long history, the ancient Egyptians never developed their religious ideas into a uniform and homogeneous system. With characteristic conservatism they retained the crude beliefs of a primitive period side by side with the more refined and spiritual conceptions of a later day; and the resulting confusion did not disturb them at all. The efforts of the theological schools to reduce this chaos to some show of order met with little success; the mass of the people were content to go on believing and worshiping as their fathers had done before them.

The explanation of the strangely composite character of the Egyptian religion must be sought far back in the predynastic period. Originally every locality had its protecting deity, whose functions and attributes were adapted to the practical needs of the community by whom he was revered. Thus, the deity of an agricultural community was the guardian of the fields and the giver of bounteous harvests, while the god of a manufacturing town was primarily the great master craftsman. Very commonly, however, these local divinities were connected with the heavenly bodies; a very considerable proportion of them, like Atum of Heliopolis and Horos of Edfu, were solar deities, while others, like Thoth of Khmunu (Hermopolis) were lunar gods. When, in course of time, a city rose to the position of capital of a district, its god acquired a corresponding increase in importance and became the chief god of the nome, while the remaining deities of the district assumed a position of dependence and were associated with him as his family or his attendants. In this way every great city had its circle of gods, whose number varied with the local conditions that

grouped them together. In Heliopolis the "circle" consisted of nine gods, and this number, through imitation by other Egyptian cities, gave rise to the later system of enneads. With the consolidation of the nomes into a single monarchy the god of the ruling dynasty gained preponderance over other deities, and in this way a state religion was established. At the head of the national pantheon stood the Sun-god Ra, whose rise to this commanding position was due to the influence of the powerful priesthood of Heliopolis, the great center of solar worship. In course of time, through the uniforming tendency of the theological schools, all the local sun gods came to be regarded as forms of Ra, and not a few deities were thus identified who originally possessed no solar character at all. Usually the local divinities were held to represent special phases of Ra; thus, Osiris of Abydos and Busiris and Atum of Heliopolis were the evening sun, while Khepera and Harmakhis were the morning sun. The same process of identification went on in other directions. Sechmet of Memphis, Bastet of Bubastis, and Mut of Thebes were all identified with the goddess Hathor of Denderah, and finally Hathor herself came to be identified with Isis. Throughout all these developments the mass of the people continued to worship their local gods with uninterrupted devotion. To them the state religion was more or less an abstraction; it was the local god whose wrath was to be appeased and his favor gained by prayer and offering. Around every shrine and temple clustered a cycle of myths and, whenever through various special causes a local cult acquired popularity in the land, the myths connected with it were widely circulated.

One of the oldest and most widespread of these myths was that embodied in the legend of Osiris. The Sun-god Osiris, like his sister Isis, was the child of Nut, the vault of heaven, and of Seb, the earth. While still in their mother's womb they produced the ever-youthful Horos, who is one with his father, and yet a different divinity. Set or Typhon, the husband of his sister Nephthys, and brother of Horos, imprisoned the Sun-god in an ark or chest, which, with the help of seventy-two of his followers (the seventy-two days of summer drought), he flung into the sacred Nile. The ark was borne across the sea to the holy city of Phœnicia, Byblos or Gebal, and there found by the disconsolate Isis. Isis, however, after hiding the corpse of the god, made her way to Horos, who had been hidden in the marshes of Buto, and

during her absence Set discovered the body of Osiris, which he cut into fourteen pieces and scattered to the winds. They were again carefully collected by Isis and buried, while Horos made ready to avenge his father's death. Osiris, meantime, lived again in the dark regions of the under world, and became the judge and monarch of the dead. The struggle between Horos and Set was long and fierce; but at length the god of light triumphed, and Set, the symbol of night and evil, was driven from his throne in the upper world. Horos became the mediator and saviour of mankind, through whom the righteous dead are justified before the tribunal of his father.

In the philosophic system of the priesthood, Nun or Chaos was the first cause from which all proceed—unshaped, eternal, and immutable matter. Kheper, the scarabæus with the sun's disk, was the creative principle of life which implanted in matter the seeds of life and light. Ptah, the "opener," was the personal creator or demiurge, who, along with the seven Khnumu or architects, gave form to these seeds, and was at once the creator and opener of the primeval egg of the universe—the ball of earth rolled along by Kheper—out of which came the sun and moon according to the older myth, the elements and forms of heaven and earth according to the later philosophy. Nut, the sky, with the stars and the boat of the sun upon her back; Seb, the earth, the symbol of time and eternity; and Amenti or Hades, now took their several shapes and places. Over this threefold world the gods and other divine beings presided.

It would be wearisome to recount more than a few of the principal divinities. Ptah, with his wife Sekhet, the cat-headed goddess of Bubastis, and his son Imhotep, or Æsculapius, comes first. He is represented with the body of a mummy and the symbols of power, life, or stability in his hands. It was to him that the bull Hapi or Apis, the representative of the creative powers of nature and the fertilizing waters of the Nile, was sacred. Next to Ptah stands Ra, the Sun-god of Heliopolis, worshiped under seventy-five forms, and called the king of gods and men. Into his hands Ptah had delivered the germs of creation, and, like Ptah, he had existed in the womb of Nu. Here he first appeared as Tum, the setting sun; then, as he passed in his boat over the waters of the lower world and the folds of the serpent Apepi during the night, he was known as Khnum; while it is as Harmakhis (Hor-

em-khuti), whose symbol is the sphinx, that he rises again from death and sleep each morning on the bud of the lotus flower that floats on the breast of Nu. This daily birth was held to take place in the bosom of Isis, Mut, or Hathor. Ra is represented with the head of his sacred bird, the hawk, and the solar disk surmounted by the uræus above; and the mystical Phœnix (*bennu*), which brings the ashes of its former self to Heliopolis every five hundred years, seems also to have been his symbol. When worshiped as Tum (or Atum), he has a man's head, with the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, though as Nofer-Tum he wears a lion's head, above which stands a hawk with a lotus crown. The name of Khnum (Khnubis or Knuphis) was originally derived from the local cult of Elephantine, but came to be applied to Ra when regarded as passing from one day to another after his descent to the infernal world. His old attributes remained attached to him, so that he sometimes takes the place of Ptah, being represented as molding the egg of the universe, and fashioning mankind. He has a ram's head, and the symbols connected with him show that his primitive worshipers regarded him as presiding over generation. Horos, symbolized now by the winged solar disk, now by a hawk-headed man, now by the hawk bearing a scourge, now again by a child on a lotus flower, merges in the days of the united monarchy into Harendotes, the avenger of Osiris.

But after the rise of the Theban dynasty the supreme form under which Ra was worshiped was Amon, a name of unknown meaning. In course of time he absorbed into himself almost all the other deities of Egypt, more especially Ra and Khnum. He reigns over this earth as his representatives, the Pharaohs, over Egypt, and inspires mankind with the sense of right. He is called Khem as the self-begetting deity, "the living Osiris" as the animating principle of the universe. On his head he wears a lofty crown of feathers, sometimes replaced by the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt or the ram's head of Khnum, and Mut and Khonsu form with him the trinity of Thebes. Ma't, the goddess of truth and justice, was the daughter of the Sun-god, who carries on her head the upright ostrich feather, and has her eyes covered with a bandage. Beside her stands Isis, at once the sister and wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horos. She is frequently depicted with the head or horns of her sacred animal, the cow, but in later times she more commonly appears as the divine mother, holding the in-

fant Horos to her breast. The worship of Isis was very popular in Egypt, and ultimately spread to Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. On the island of Philæ she continued to be revered as late as 453 A. D., long after paganism had been suppressed in other parts of Egypt.

Against her stands Set or Typhon, primarily the night, into whose character and attributes a moral meaning was gradually read, so that in the time of the New Empire he became the representative of evil, the enemy of the bright powers of light and goodness, the prince of the powers of darkness. The crocodile was sacred to him, though Sebek, the Crocodile-god, continued to be worshiped in the Fayum and the neighborhood of Kom-Ombos up to the classical period. Apepi also, the serpent of night, was associated with him, and came to partake of his demoniac character. His wife Nephthys, the queen of the lower world, was the nurse of Horos and the sympathizing sister of Isis. Her son, by Osiris, was the jackal-headed Anubis, "the master of Hades," who, like the Greek Hermes, guides the dead to the shades below.

But it was with Tehuti or Thoth that the Greeks preferred to identify their Hermes. Originally the god of the moon, like Khonsu, the ibis-headed Thoth, with his consort Safekht, became the inventor of writing, the regulator of time and numbers, and the patron of science and literature. The cynocephalous ape and the ibis were his sacred animals.

These animal forms, in which a later myth saw the shapes assumed by the affrighted gods during the great war between Horos and Typhon, take us back to a remote prehistoric age, when the religious creed of Egypt was still totemism. They are survivals from a long-forgotten past, and prove that Egyptian civilization was of slow and independent growth, the latest stage only of which is revealed to us by the monuments. Apis of Memphis, Mnevis of Heliopolis, and Bakis of Hermonthis, are all links that bind together the Egypt of the Pharaohs and the Egypt of the stone age. They were the sacred animals of the clans which first settled in these localities, and their identification with the deities of the official religion must have been a slow process, never fully carried out, in fact, in the minds of the lower classes.

Another conception which the primitive Egyptians shared with most other barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes was the magical virtue of names. This also survived into the historical epoch,

and, in union with the later spirit of personal ambition, produced an absorbing passion for preserving the name of the individual after death. His continued existence was imagined to depend upon the continued remembrance of his name. The Egyptian belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body thus had its root in the old childlike superstition which confused together words and things. In the philosophical system of the priesthood, however, it was given a new and more rational form. According to this, man consists of three parts: the *khat* or body, which belongs to matter; the *ba* or soul, which ultimately returns to its home in the lower world; and the *khu* or spirit, an emanation from the divine essence. Each of these parts can exist separately, and each is eternal and immutable. But it is the soul which receives after death the rewards or punishments due to it for its thoughts and actions while in the body. If the soul had triumphed over the bodily passions—had been pious toward the gods, and righteous toward men—it passed in safety through all the trials that awaited it below. Fortified by sacred texts and hymns and amulets, and trusting in Horos the mediator, it subdued the demons and horrible beasts that opposed its way, and at length reached the hall of justice where Osiris with his forty-two assessors sat as judge. Horos and Anubis now weighed the soul in its vase against the goddess of truth, and Thoth recorded the result. If the soul went down, it was sentenced to the various torments of hell, or to wander like a vampire between heaven and earth, scourged and buffeted by the tempests, or else doomed to transmigrate into the bodies of animals, until permitted to regain its original body and undergo a fresh trial; there were cases even in which it might be annihilated. If, on the other hand, the soul remained evenly balanced, it was allowed to enter the blissful fields of Aalu, there to be purified from all the stains of its early life, and after becoming perfect in wisdom and knowledge, to be absorbed into the divine essence, or to live again upon earth in any form it chose. At times it would enter the body and reanimate it, and for this purpose every care had to be taken lest the body should decay or become injured. In addition to the soul, every individual had a sort of spiritual double known as the *Ka,* that seems to have acted as his protecting genius. It was born with him, was his inseparable companion during life, and after death hovered around his mortal remains.

Our knowledge of Egyptian mythology as distinct from

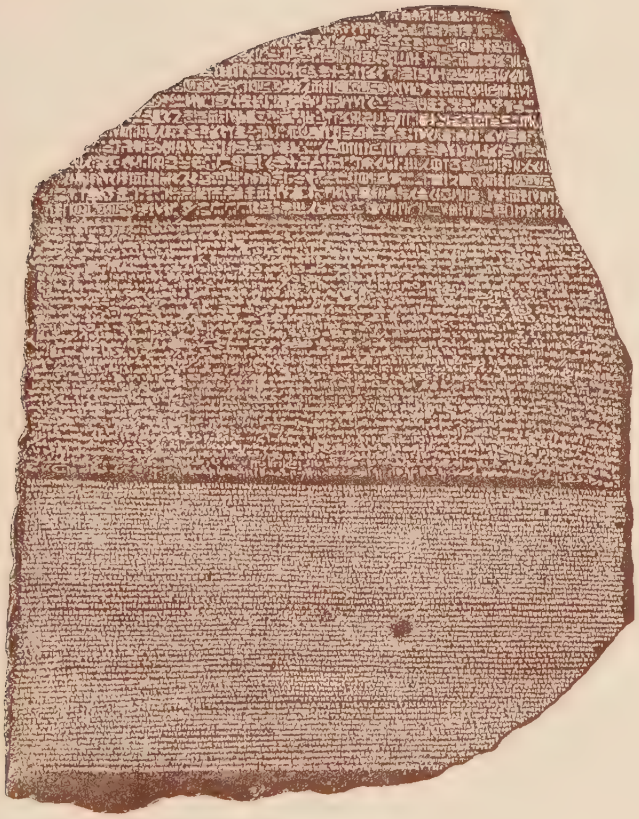
Egyptian religion is still but scanty. Mention has already been made of the Osiris myth, which entered so largely into the religious faith of the people. There was another legend which told how mankind had emanated from the eyes of the deity, and spread themselves over the earth as "the flock of Ra," the Romet, or Egyptians, and Nahsi, or negroes, being under the guardianship of Horos; the Amu, or Semites, and the white-skinned population of Libya and the north, being under that of Sekhet. According to another version, however, mankind, with the exception of the negroes, had sprung from the tears of Horos and Sekhet. Another myth, again, discovered by Naville in the tomb of Seti I., states that mankind once rebelled against their sovereign ruler Ra, who took counsel with Nun. Hathor or Sekhet, accordingly, was sent to slay them, and the earth was covered with their blood as far as Herakleopolis. Then Ra was horrified at the sight and, repenting the slaughter he had caused, determined to save a remnant of mankind. In the night he caused seven thousand jars of beer to be prepared, mingled with an intoxicating herb, and poured it out upon the fields. When the goddess came in the morning to complete her work of destruction, she found the beer and, drinking copiously of it, became drunk and took no further cognizance of men. Mankind was thus saved from total destruction, but Ra had become weary of ruling the earth and retired to rest in heaven upon the back of the celestial cow. First, however, he created the Elysian fields of Aalu and the stars, charging the sacred cow, the incarnation of Nut, with their guardianship; while Shu, like Atlas, supports her on his two hands. Seb was then ordered to keep watch over the reptiles of earth and water, and Thoth over the lower world; the ibis, the cynocephalous ape, and the lunar disk coming into existence at the same time.

Though it is difficult to trace much change or development in the religion of Egypt during the historical period as opposed to the prehistoric one, it is nevertheless plain that as time went on it assumed a more mythical and esoteric character, which shows itself most conspicuously in the monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman age. It was from this theosophic phase that the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria and Neo-Platonic Christianity derived a large part of their ideas and principles. At the same time monotheism, or rather pantheism, became more clearly defined among the educated classes, the popular gods being resolved into mystical manifesta-

tions or emanations of the one divine substance. This tendency, in fact, existed in very early times and found its logical expression in the attempted reform of Amenophis IV., but the total failure of Amenophis's efforts proves how little hold the idea of monotheism had upon the Egyptian people. A further change may be observed in the conception of the future life between the monuments of the Old Empire and those of the Middle and New Empires. The sadness and gloom that overshadow the latter had not yet been felt. The tomb of Ti at Sakkarah, for instance, presents us with pictures of the after world, in which the dead man lives over again his life in this; he farms, hunts, superintends his workmen and slaves, and feasts, just as he had done on earth. The shadow of the grave was not yet ever before the eyes of the Egyptian, and though he built tombs for himself while still alive, they mostly took the shape of pyramids, raised on the ground and pointed to the sky, not of dark and gloomy subterranean chambers. We should look in vain in them for those representations of the torments and trials which await the dead below, of the headless souls and horrible coils of the monstrous serpent Apepi, that startle us on the pictured walls of the royal tombs at Thebes. The myth of Osiris had not yet begun to exercise the terrible influence it afterward obtained over the imagination of the people, and the Book of the Dead still consisted of only a few simple chapters.

The apotheosis of the Roman emperors had been long anticipated in Egypt. The kings were representatives and, in a political sense, incarnations of the deity; divine worship was offered to them, and priests were attached to their cult. The cult of the most powerful of the kings lasted for centuries, or after being discontinued was sometimes revived for dynastic and other reasons. Thus the cult of Send of the second dynasty, and Sahura of the fifth, lasted into the age of the Ptolemies; that of Menes, of Zoser (of the third dynasty), of Kheops, Khephren, Ra-tatf, Snefru, and Ramses II. down to the time of the Persian conquest; that of Usertesen III., to the reign of the Thothmes III.; though the pyramid builders seem to have been forgotten in the epoch of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties.

The priesthood was divided into several classes; the high-priest of Amon and his associates ranking at their head, at all events under the New Empire. Next to these priests came the four orders of prophets, out of whom the ministers of the worship



THE ROSETTA STONE

The famous Rosetta Stone, an irregular slab of black basalt about 3 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 4 1-2 in. by 11 in., was found by a French army officer attached to Napoleon's Egyptian Expedition, in August, 1799, while digging out the foundations for the rebuilding of a fort. The stone remained in the possession of the French until after the surrender of Alexandria to the English, August 30, 1801, when it was delivered up to the captors and deposited in the British Museum.

Napoleon ordered copies engraved for the French Institute and in 1802 the English authorities sent copies of the inscription to many learned societies of the world (including the Philosophic Society of Philadelphia). The discovery produced a profound sensation among scholars in all countries, for it furnished the first clue to the decipherment of early Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The decree inscribed on the stone was passed at a council of Egyptian priests in the spring B. C. 196 in honor of Ptolemy V. The inscription at the top, in the earliest Egyptian hieroglyphic characters, is repeated in the demotic or abbreviated hieroglyphic writing used in the Ptolemaic period, and again in Greek at the base.

of the deceased kings were chosen; and below them again the *wêbu*, or divine fathers. Sacred scribes were attached to the temples, as well as servants and slaves. Monks, too, lived in cells in the precincts. Besides the priests and prophets there were also priestesses and prophetesses; and women of the highest rank were proud to be the prophetesses, the singing women, and the sistrum players of Amon. The priests and their families were supported out of the revenues of the temple to which they belonged, and so formed a corporation; and all matters relating to religion and public worship were under their control. The embalmers were an inferior order of priests.

Chapter IV

ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE

EGYPTIAN art falls into two broadly marked periods. The art of the Old Empire is realistic, vigorous, and full of originative genius; that of later times, stiff, conventional, and hieratic. Art is at its best in the age of the pyramid builders; its future history is a history of continuous decline. Those who have not seen the diorite statue of Khephren or the wooden statue of the "Skeikh-el-Beled" in the Bulak Museum, or the exquisitely painted bas-reliefs of the tomb of Ti, have no conception of what Egyptian art once was. The colossal productions of the Middle and New Empires hardly make up by grandness of design for the want of artistic originality. Spontaneousness and faithfulness to nature were but ill-replaced by mysticism and symbolism.

Fluted columns with sixteen sides, which bear a close general resemblance to the Doric column (though wanting the *echinus* that distinguished the latter), first meet us in the tombs of Beni-Hassan and Siut, and thus make their appearance as soon as the pyramid was superseded by the rock-cut tomb. Columns in the shape of four lotus stalks bound together, their blossoms forming the capital, also occur along with them, and introduce a series of columnar architecture, which reaches its final perfection in the papyrus and palm-crowned pillars of Edfu and Esneh. The most peculiar and unpleasing feature of these columns is the square box on the top of the capitals. In the Ptolemaic age the shaft often terminates in a square adorned with four masks of Hathor, above which is a miniature temple façade. From the time of the eighteenth dynasty downwards the shaft of the column is frequently replaced by the figure of Osiris, with the arms crossed over the breast.

The *Mastabas* or mortuary chapels of the Old Empire, several of which may still be seen adjoining the pyramids of Gizeh, were replaced in later days by sumptuous temples, of which the Memnonium at Thebes may be taken as an example. These temples

were built after the model of those raised to the gods by the monarchs of the Middle Empire, since we know of none that belong to the age of the Old Empire. They were intended, not for religious service, but for processions, and were jealously protected from the eyes of the *profanum vulgus*. Hence the lofty shrines of stone with which they were surrounded; hence, too, the fact that walls and columns and ceilings were covered with sculptures and paintings that could not be seen until light was introduced into them by the ruin of the buildings themselves. Even the secret passages at Denderah are decorated with carefully executed bas-reliefs. Since the temples were used as fortresses, as well as for sacred purposes—a fact which will explain the ruined condition of many of them—they were guarded at the entrance by two pylons or towers, where the temple watchmen lived. Before the pylons standards were planted, and between them was the entrance through which the procession passed into court after court, chamber after chamber, until the shrine itself was at last reached. Here stood the images of the gods. In the rock-cut temples of Nubia the Theban Trinity is hewn out of the stone, with the king himself seated in its midst.

The surface of the stone was covered throughout with bas-reliefs and brilliant paintings. In the latter art the Egyptians excelled from the earliest period. But they ostentatiously disregarded the most elementary rules of perspective, however, under the influence of the hieratic canon, though such objects as flowers, animals, fish, and butterflies were produced with pre-Raphaelite fidelity.

The Egyptians were skillful artificers. Their chairs, couches, and other articles of household furniture display great taste and variety, and their work in the precious metals and gems is of the highest order. Porcelain and glass are among their earliest productions, and they were acquainted with the art of soldering metals, including iron—which shows that Herodotos (i. 25) was wrong in ascribing the discovery of this art to Glaukos—as far back at least as the eighteenth dynasty. Imbrication, or the art of laying plates of metal one upon the other, was also known to them, as well as the art of damaskeening.

Art in Egypt, as elsewhere, attained an earlier development than science. At the same time the monuments left by Egyptian art imply a considerable knowledge of mechanics, geometry, and

engineering. The Great Pyramid faces the four points of the compass with marvelous exactitude, and the obelisk of Queen Hatasu at Karnak, the tallest in the world, was cut out of the granite quarries of Assuan, engraved, polished, floated down the Nile, and set up in its place, in seven months! Professor Eisenlohr has discovered that mathematics were studied at the court of the Hyksos princes, as the Rhind Papyri contain a mathematical work (written for Apepi I.) which may be described as a treatise on applied arithmetic.

Astronomy of a somewhat elementary character was cultivated for the sake of the calendar. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days, to which at a very early period were added five more; but as in this way a whole day was lost every four years, recourse was had to the famous Sothic cycle, determined by the heliacal rising of Sopt or Sothis, the Dog-star, on the first of Thoth, July 28, once in 1460 years, when the year returned to its normal condition, and the inundation of the Nile commenced on the Egyptian New Year's Day. The end of one Sothic cycle fell in 139 A. D., and the festival which commemorated the rising of Sothis was ascribed to the mythical days of the Shemsu-Hor. The planets were distinguished from the fixed stars, and the sun was believed to wander through the heavens like the planets. It may be added that the month was divided into three decades, as among the Greeks and early Latins (cp. the *nundinæ*), each day being further divided into twelve hours, as in Chaldea.

The healing art was cultivated in Egypt at a very early day. According to Manetho, the successor of Menes wrote treatises on anatomy, and a medical work mentioned in the Berlin Papyrus is said to have been first composed in the reign of a predecessor of King Send of the second dynasty. Such statements, however, are due to the Egyptian fancy for antedating literary productions, and the oldest medical papyrus we possess does not mount back beyond the twelfth dynasty. The great Papyrus Ebers, which dates from the eighteenth dynasty, forms the principal source of our knowledge of Egyptian medicine. From this work it would seem that the various diseases known were carefully distinguished from one another, and their symptoms were minutely described, as well as their treatment. The prescriptions recommended in each case are made out in precisely the same way as the prescriptions of a modern doctor. One of these is said to have been derived from a

Semitic oculist of Byblos, but the greater part belonged to earlier Egyptian medical men, some of whom flourished under the first dynasties. The medicines used were of four kinds—draughts, blisters, powders, and clysters, minerals as well as vegetables being employed in their composition. Some of the ingredients in Egyptian medical prescriptions are repulsive in the extreme. In spite of their familiarity with the process of embalming, the Egyptians seem to have possessed little knowledge of anatomy, and Sir E. Wilson disputes the statement that mummies have been found with their teeth stopped with gold, while some have been found with broken bones grown together naturally. In fact, the anatomical theory of the Egyptians is sufficient to show that anatomy was still in its infancy. According to this the breath is drawn from the breast to the head, through thirty-two channels or veins, and then transmitted to the limbs. At all times magic played an important part in Egyptian medicine. No prescription was effective unless the proper charm was recited when it was compounded, and when it was administered as well, and magical formulæ and exorcisms for the relief of sickness are frequently met with in the Egyptian papyri. A demotic papyrus at Leyden is almost wholly occupied with charms, especially love philters.

Egyptian literature embraced the whole circle of the knowledge of the time. Writing was as old as the united monarchy, and the son of Menes was believed to have been an author. But of this literature only a few papyri, and still fewer texts engraved on stone, like the poem of Pentaur, have come down to us, the papyri being written in hieratic and demotic. The most ancient we possess is the "Papyrus Prisse," dating from the twelfth dynasty, and containing two ethical treatises, one by the sage Kagemna, who lived in the reign of Snefru, the other by Ptah-hotep, the contemporary of King Assa of the fifth dynasty. Both treatises are collections of homely, practical wisdom, resembling the Book of Proverbs, or the writings of Confucius. Equanimity, honesty, benevolence, and prudence are inculcated, and the husband is told: "Love thy wife and cherish her as long as thou livest; be not a tyrant; flattery acts upon her better than rudeness." "If thou art wise," says Ptah-hotep again, "bring up thy son to fear God. If he obey thee, walking in thy steps, and caring for thy goods as he ought, then show him all favor. Yet thy foolish son is also thine

own offspring; estrange not thine heart from him, but admonish him." Ptah-hotep lived to the ripe age of 110 years, and though he begins by enumerating all the miseries of old age, like the writer of Ecclesiastes, he finds in the wisdom and experience it brings more than compensation.

The chief monument of the religious literature of Egypt is the Book of the Dead, in 186 chapters, of which the recension current under the New Empire (eighteenth to twentieth dynasties) was critically edited, in 1886, by Naville. Portions of it were inscribed on the mummy cases and tombs, and are met with in the latest of the demotic papyri. It consists, essentially, of a collection of magical formulæ designed to protect the deceased from the trials and dangers of the lower world and to ensure his triumph in the final judgment. Two versions of the sixty-fourth chapter are found on a coffin of the eleventh dynasty, and, according to the rubrics, one of these dates from the time of Men-ka-ra of the fourth dynasty, while the other is said to have been "discovered" in the reign of Hesepti, a king of the first dynasty. But only the essence of the work went back to the Old Empire. The rest consisted of additions and glosses, and glosses of glosses, which continued to be made up to the time of the Persians. Until the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty no attempt was made to arrange the chapters in a definite order. Besides the Book of the Dead may be quoted the Litanies to the Sun-god, which are full of deep spiritual feeling, and are monotheistic in tone. Magical works are plentiful, but they mostly belong to the closing days of the kingdom. With these may be coupled the popular tales and romances, such as "The Tale of the Two Brothers," written under the nineteenth dynasty, and bearing some resemblance to the history of Joseph, or the story of Setna, which turns on the magical powers of the Book of Thoth, or the legend of the cure of Bent-resh, the daughter of the Prince of Bakhten and sister-in-law of Ramses XII. A document at Leyden contains an exorcism by the help of which a husband sought to rid himself of the visits of his wife's ghost. Correspondence also occupies a considerable place in Egyptian literature. We have copies of private letters, like that of "The Sotem Mersuatef to his mistress, the priestess of Isis, Tanur," of public and royal correspondence, and of collections similar to Lord Chesterfield's letters or the "Complete Letter-writer." Among these is a letter in which the scribe contrasts the pursuit of literature with other trades and

professions, very much to the disadvantage of the latter. The account of the Mohar's travels in Syria and Palestine, where he visited Aleppo and insular Tyre among other places, and describes his sufferings at the hands of robbers, in the time of the nineteenth dynasty, may also be included under this head. So, too, may the autobiography of Saneha, who fled from Egypt for political reasons, and, after slaying a sort of Goliah, obtained wealth and power in the court of Ammuenshi, king of Upper Tennu, the later Edom. The desire of seeing his native land again came upon him in his old age, and he obtained permission from Usertesen I. to return home. Perhaps, however, this latter work should more fitly be classed, as it is by Maspero, among the historical romances of the Egyptians, like the story of the capture of Joppa by Thutii, the general of Thothmes III., which bears a striking resemblance to the tale of Ali-Baba in the "Arabian Nights." Closely connected with the epistolary branch of Egyptian literature are the papyri, which contain memoranda or accounts, as well as the official documents kept by the royal scribes. Among these are accounts which show that provision was made for the support of sick laborers. Tribute lists and geographical catalogues are perhaps the most important of this class of documents, though the mutilated Turin Papyrus, with its chronological table of Egyptian kings, has a still higher value. Judicial records, again, are not rare. One record describes the trial of certain conspirators against the life of Ramses III., with the punishments allotted to them. From others we learn that commissioners might be appointed to investigate charges afterward brought before the judges in court, that the evidence was taken down in writing, and that even cases between master and slave had to come before the judge. Petitions were presented directly to the king. Egyptian law was mild; torture seems to have been unknown, and mutilations exceptional. Even the punishment of death was rare, and usually took the form of decapitation or compulsory suicide. It is noticeable that the artist who had portrayed the naval victory of Ramses III. at Medinet Abu has depicted a number of the triumphant Egyptians attempting to rescue the sinking crew of an enemy's ship—an act of humanity unparalleled among the other nations of the ancient world. The treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites gives us an insight into the international law of the time.

As in most despotic countries, satirical writing and beast-fables were employed; indeed, Professor Mahaffy suggests that the beast-fable owes its origin to Africa. One of the caricatures in the satirical papyrus of Turin represents Ramses III. with a lion's head, playing draughts (a game of which he seems to have been very fond) with one of his harem, who is transformed into a gazelle.

Poetry, apart from the religious hymns, was much cultivated. The so-called Epic of Pentaur, which celebrates the exploits of Ramses II., has been compared with the Iliad, though it resembles the Greek poem only in general character, since it never became popular and owes its preservation to the vanity of the king whose imaginary deeds it records, and who, like Akhilles, is made to address his horses by their names. It was formerly believed to have been composed by the scribe Pentaur, the private secretary of the royal librarian, Amenemen, who, in a letter preserved in the Sallier Papyrus I., scolds him for not having sent the provisions of the season to the palace, but it is now known that Pentaur was merely the copyist of the manuscript in which the poem has come down to us. But epics and religious hymns were not the only forms in which Egyptian poetry clothed itself. A long poem on the praise of learning, probably composed in the time of the twelfth dynasty, is found in the Sallier Papyrus II.; the ode to the Nile is secular rather than religious; and the lyrics contained in the Anastasi Papyri are of great beauty. Egyptian poetry was simple in structure, and chiefly depended, like Hebrew poetry, upon the parallelism of ideas; but Ebers has shown that it also made considerable use of alliteration.

Historical literature is unfortunately rare, if we except such documents as the Harris Papyrus, the largest papyrus known, which gives the history of Ramses III. For the annals of the kings we must rather look to the walls of the temples and the tombs, or to the stelæ and similar monuments. It is seldom that we come across so straightforward an inscription as that of Piankhi, or one that is so free from interminable titles, and Piankhi was an Ethiopian.

Egyptian writing was a system of survivals. It was at once ideographic, syllabic, and alphabetic. The older phases through which it passed were preserved along with those which, in a less conservative country, would have superseded it. The oldest writ-

ten monuments we possess exhibit it already formed and complete. Its invention must, therefore, long precede the age of Menes. The characters are pictorial, primarily representing objects and ideas, while some are used as determinatives. Each character also denotes one or more syllables, and several further represent the single letters with which the words symbolized by them begin. For the sake of clearness the same word may be expressed ideographically (by a pictorial hieroglyph), syllabically, and alphabetically, all at once. Before the time of the Middle Empire, and probably as early as the first dynasty, a "hieratic" running hand had been formed out of the hieroglyphics, and in the ninth century B. C. this became the "demotic" hand, the characters of which are still more unlike the original forms from which they were derived than those of the hieratic papyri. Hieratic is always written from right to left, whereas the hieroglyphics may run indifferently from left to right, or from right to left.

The Egyptian language is related on the one hand to the so-called Hamitic dialects of northern Africa, while on the other hand it bears an unmistakable relationship to the languages of the Semitic group. It is simple in structure, and inflectional in form, marking the relations of words by suffixes and composition. It is already an old language when we first meet with it on the monuments, and it changed considerably during the course of Egyptian history. The language of the Old or Middle Empire would have been unintelligible to the ordinary Egyptian of the time of Herodotos. In the complicated system of writing employed by the ancient Egyptians only the consonants are expressed, and there is no guide to the vocalization and pronunciation of the language except Coptic, which is at least three thousand years younger than the oldest monuments of the parent stem.

Law has already been mentioned under the head of literature. As in England, the king was regarded as the source of justice, and at all events in the Ptolemaic period the judges went on circuit. The government was imperialistic. The king was a deified autocrat, but affairs were really managed by an organized bureaucracy. The monarch and the royal princes nominally commanded the army, which was divided into different corps, each named after its patron divinity. From the earliest times it consisted largely of negro, Libyan, and other mercenaries; in fact, as in the case of the Roman Empire, it came eventually to consist of them almost en-

tirely. The fleet never attained a high development. The soldiers acted as a police force at home, under magistrates, who heard civil suits, and prefects were appointed over the large cities. The nomes had each its governor.

Trade during the Old Empire seems to have been small. Egypt mainly depended on domestic agriculture, and, like China, was jealous of strangers. The turquoise and copper mines of Sinai, however, were early occupied and worked, and the use of bronze implies a knowledge of tin. Thothmes III. received iron vessels as tribute from the King of Antinay, a country on the coast of Asia Minor, but iron seems to have been practically unknown in the earlier period. Gold was worked under the first dynasties, but it was the Middle Empire that opened the Nubian gold mines. A plan of those of Rhedesieh and Kuban (Kobban) exists in a Turin Papyrus of the nineteenth dynasty. With the rise of the New Empire and the Semitic occupation of the Delta trade largely increased, favored by the conquests in Asia. Corn, linen, and horses were exported in return for the products of Asia and Cush. The expedition sent by Hatasu to Punt, or the Somali coast, had a commercial object, and Punt henceforth supplied Egypt with incense, gums, cosmetics, monkeys, apes, hounds, and panther skins. The Phœnicians brought vases of gold, silver, and terra-cotta, many of them with covers made in the shape of animals' heads. Necho attempted to join the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by a canal, and dispatched Phœnician sailors to circumnavigate Africa.

From the age of the earliest monuments downward the Egyptians were acquainted with all the luxuries and comforts of cultivated life. The country swarmed with artisans and handicraftsmen of all kinds. Glass blowers are depicted on monuments of the twelfth dynasty, and a fragment of dark-blue glass bears the prænomen of Antef III. of the eleventh. Vases of beautiful blue porcelain go back to the age of the Old Empire, and the dyed cloths of Egypt were justly celebrated. Wine and beer were drunk, and dinner parties were given by the wealthy, at which the guests sat on chairs. For amusements they had dancers, musicians, singers, tumblers, and jugglers, games like that of draughts, or field sports. Their dress was light, as was natural in a hot climate, and sandals were unknown before the fifth dynasty. The head was shorn, and an enormous wig worn over it, partly for the

sake of cleanliness, partly for protection from the sun. Artificial beards were also used. Children went undressed before the age of puberty, and were distinguished by a single lock of hair on the left side. Their education was carefully attended to, and they were trained in "all the wisdom of the Egyptians." As stated by Herodotos, the Egyptians were usually monogamous; the king, however, was allowed to have several wives, and the great nobles might keep harems. Marriage between brother and sister was also permitted—a survival from a primitive condition of polyandry. But in Egypt woman held a high position, very unlike that occupied by her in Greece or in modern Oriental countries. She was the equal of her lord, went about freely and unveiled in public, and could ascend the throne in her own right as far back as the beginning of the second dynasty. Indeed, it would seem that at this period the children traced their descent through the mother rather than through the father.

The character of the Egyptian people has been most variously estimated, reflecting the prejudicies or partiality of the observer. The intelligence of the ancient Egyptians, of the later epoch, was praised enthusiastically by Herodotos, who dwells on their excellent memories and comments on the attention given to matters of health. Diodorus counted them the most grateful of people. The verdict of the Roman emperor, Hadrian, however, marked them with less favor and by him they were arraigned as frivolous and refractory. The modern estimate of the Egyptians gives emphasis to their extraordinary energy, as witnessed by their wonderful architectural remains.

Undoubtedly they were accurate observers and possessed a wonderful knowledge in utilizing the forces of nature. An agricultural people, they were much given to realism, were unpiqued by novelty and in general possessed such characteristics as were natural to their long development within their own narrow limits. The Egyptians formed a strong contrast to the other leading nations of antiquity. Gentle, good-tempered, unwarlike, and humane, they achieved success in war only by the help of superior organization and equipment. Home-loving and industrious, they made their country the seat of culture and material prosperity. If, like other southern races, they had not the same notions of truth as the northern European, their legal institutions show that they had a profound sense of justice and equity. Under the ever-increasing tyranny and

servility of the New Empire, it is true, their political character deteriorated; but up to the last the pure-blooded inhabitants of Middle Egypt preserved some of that democratic spirit which still distinguishes the Egyptian of to-day. Their deep religious fervor was tempered by light-heartedness, and prevented from passing into fanaticism; and if from time to time they showed themselves excitable, it was the excitability of healthy children under a warm sun and a bright sky.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

Chapter I

GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY

GEOGRAPHICALLY, as well as ethnologically and historically, Babylonia and Assyria form but one country. It is therefore with justice that classical writers sometimes speak of the whole district between the Euphrates and Tigris as Assyria, though Babylonia would no doubt have been a more accurate name. The district naturally falls into two divisions, the northern being more or less mountainous, while the southern is flat and marshy, and a sharp line of separation is drawn between them at a spot where the two rivers approach closely to one another, and the undulating tableland of the north sinks suddenly into the alluvial flats of Babylonia. It was in these rich and loamy flats, however, that the civilization of Western Asia first developed. The northern plateau, for which the ancient inhabitants of the country had no general name, embraced the kingdom of Assyria, bounded by the Armenian and Zagros Mountains, the Lower Zab, and the Tigris, and the land of Mesopotamia, the Aram-Naharaim of the Bible. The latter country was probably the small district lying between the Euphrates and Khabur rivers and the Armenian Mountains, but the name Mesopotamia was subsequently extended to cover all the territory included between the Tigris and Euphrates. In this wider sense the plain of Mesopotamia, now known as El-Jezireh, is about 250 miles in length, and is intersected by a single mountain ridge, which rises abruptly out of the plain, and, branching off from the Zagros range, runs southward and eastward under the modern names of Sarazur, Hamrin, and Sinjar. The numerous *tels* and other remains of old habitations, even apart from the evidence of the Assyrian inscriptions, show how thickly this level region must once have been populated, though it is now for the most part a wilderness. North of the plateau rises a well-watered and undulating tract of country, diversified by low ranges of limestone hills, sometimes barren, sometimes

clothed with dwarf oaks, which often shut in rich plains and fertile valleys between their northern and northeastern slopes and the main mountain line from which they detach themselves. Beyond them are the lofty summits of the Niphates and Zagros ranges, where the Tigris and Euphrates have their sources, and by which Assyria was cut off from Armenia and Kurdistan.

The country of Assyria took its name from the primitive capital of A-sur (or A-usar, "well watered district," later Asshur), now Kilah-Sherghat, which stood on the right bank of the Tigris, midway between the Greater and Lesser Zab, and was founded in pre-Semitic times. Some sixty miles to the north, beyond the Greater Zab, was another city of nearly equal age, but originally of smaller size and importance, called *Nina,* Ninua, or Nineveh, now represented by the mounds of Nebi Yunus and Kouyunjik, opposite Mosul, and built on the banks of the Tigris and Khusur, the modern Khosr. It was an ancient seat of worship of the goddess Ishtar, and is mentioned as one of the chief cities of Assyria in the third millennium B. C., but did not become the capital of the empire until the time of Sennacherib. Calah, the modern Nimrud, situated at the junction of the Tigris with the Upper Zab, was founded by Shalmaneser I. (about 1330 B. C.), who made it the capital of Assyria, and it retained this position down to the reign of Sargon. About ten miles to the north of Nineveh was Dur-Sharrukin (now Khorsabad), built in the shape of a square by Sargon, whose palace was erected on a platform shaped like a T on its northwest side. Nine miles to the east of Nimrud is Balawat, the ancient Imgur Bel, "Bel is gracious," from which the bronze gates commemorating the achievements of Shalmaneser II., and now in the British Museum, have been brought. On the northern frontier of Assyria was Tarbiz, now Sherif Khan, while Arbela, now Ervil, on the east, was an early seat of the worship of Ishtar, and a city of considerable importance. Southwest of it lay Kalzu, enlarged and fortified by Sennacherib; while the Mespila (Mushpilu, "low ground") of Xenophon, where the Medes made a final stand against Cyrus, must have been a little to the north of Nineveh. Besides these there were numerous other cities, more than twenty of the most important of which are enumerated among the insurgents against Shalmaneser II.; while the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib contains a long list of the smaller towns and villages in the immediate neighborhood of the capital.

But in populousness and antiquity Assyria was far exceeded by the southern kingdom of Babylonia. Here were the center and starting-point of the civilization which afterward spread throughout Western Asia. Its primitive inhabitants, whom we will term Sumerians, were the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing which, with many other elements of their culture, was subsequently adopted by their ruder Semitic conquerors. Of their origin noth-

ing positive is known, though certain considerations would seem to indicate that they came from the mountainous country to the east. On linguistic grounds they have been connected with the Turanian or Finno-Tatar races, but this theory cannot be regarded as well established. Their language was agglutinative and bears some general resemblance to the Ural-Altaic family of speech, though no real relationship can be established. After the Semitic conquest it ceased to be spoken, but was cultivated as a ritual language in the

Babylonian temples until the time of Alexander the Great, or even later.

The civilization of Babylonia may possibly have originated in Anzan or southern Susiana and the coast of the Persian Gulf, out of which, according to the legend, the semi-human Oannes arose at dawn with the revelation of culture and knowledge. The pictorial hieroglyphics which afterward became the cuneiform characters were perhaps first invented in Elam, as would seem to be indicated by such facts as the want of a simple character to denote the palm, or the use of the picture of a mountain to signify a country. In Babylonia, however, the Sumerian civilization underwent a rapid development. The country was divided into two portions, the northern, comprehending Sippara and Babylon, being know as Accad, and the southern, which included Erech, Larsa, and Ur, as Sumer or Shinar. To the south, along the seacoast, lay the Eden of Babylonian and Hebrew traditions at the mouths of the four rivers of Paradise, the Euphrates, Tigris, Karun, and Kercha, which originally emptied independently into the Persian Gulf. In the time of Alexander the Tigris and Euphrates still flowed by different mouths into the sea, as did also the Eulæus or Karun in the Assyrian epoch; and Dr. Delitzsch calculates that a delta of between forty and fifty miles in length has been formed since the sixth century B. C.[1]

On the western bank of the Euphrates, near the coast, was the ancient city of Eridu, whose site is now known as Abu-Shahrein, the seat of worship of Ea, the god of the deep, and further westward was Ur, the birthplace of Abraham, now represented by the mound of Mugheir. Among the other south Babylonian cities may be mentioned Erech or Uruk, now Warka; Nippur, the city of Bel, now Niffer; Larsa, perhaps the Ellasar of Genesis, the city of the sun, now Senkereh or Sinkara; Lagash, now Telloh; and Girsu, now represented by the mound of Tell-Id. Chief among the cities of northern Babylonia was the famous city of Babylon, which later gaves its name to the whole country. Founded by Sargon of Agade and established by him as the capital of his great empire, it maintained its preëminence in the land until its entire destruction in 689 B. C. by Sennacherib, who choked the stream of the Arakhtu with its ruins. Rebuilt by Esarhaddon, it soon recovered its old importance, and after being united with its suburb, Borsippa, became the center of the empire of Nebuchadrezzar.

[1] See Pliny, "Natural History," vi. 130.

Northward from Babylon, along the Euphrates, were the important cities of Kutha, the modern Tell-Ibrahim, the seat of worship of the god Nergal, and Sippara, now Abu-Habba, famous for its ancient temple of Shamash, the Sun-god. Near Sippara seems to have been situated its sister city Agade, the original seat of Sargon's dominion.

The country was intersected by a network of canals, which at the same time provided abundant irrigation for the land, and served as highways of travel and commerce. The most important of these, the Nahr Malka or "Royal Canal," which was navigable for the largest vessels, connected the Euphrates with the Tigris some distance above Babylon, and entered the latter river near the site of Seleukeia. Another great canal led from Borsippa to Babylon and formed the route of the New Year's Day procession when the gods of the former city were conveyed in their sacred vessel to pay their annual visit to Marchek, the chief deity of the metropolis. The Pallacopas, on the western side of the Euphrates, supplied an immense lake in the neighborhood of Borsippa. On the same side, to the south of Babylon, is the fresh-water lake of Nedjef, surrounded by sandstone cliffs of considerable height, forty miles in length and thirty-five at the broadest part. Below the lake the marshes where Alexander nearly perished[2] extend as far as the sea. Here, on the Persian Gulf, lived the Caldai or Chaldeans, with their capital Bit-Yakin, when we first hear of them in the ninth century B. C. Under Merodach-baladan they made themselves masters of Babylonia, and gave their name to the whole country in the Greek period. Northward of the Caldai were a number of kindred tribes, among whom the Gambuli, Dakkuri, Amukkani, and Pukudu or Pekod, may be mentioned.

The fertility of the soil was great. Pliny tells us in his history that wheat after being cut twice was good keep for sheep; and according to Berosos, wheat, barley, sesame, ochrys, palms, apples, and many kinds of shelled fruit grew wild. Indeed, wheat still does so in the neighborhood of Anah, and we need not be surprised at the statement of Herodotos that grain commonly returned two hundredfold to the sower, and sometimes three hundredfold. Chaldea was the native country of the palm, the 360 uses of which were recounted by a Persian poem;[3] and we learn

[2] Arrian, "Anabasis of Alexander and Indica," vii. 22; Strabo, "Geography," xvi. 1. 12.

[3] Strabo, "Geography," xvi. 1. 14.

from Ammianus Marcellinus that from the point reached by Julian's army to the margin of the Persian Gulf was one continuous forest of verdure.

As already stated, the primitive population of Babylonia belonged to a race which may have been allied to the Turanian or Finno-Tatar. At all events it spoke an agglutinative language which bears a certain resemblance to those of the Ural-Altaic family. This primitive population was supplanted by the Semites at some unknown period in the fourth millennium B. C. The Semitic element, however, was stronger and purer in Assyria than in Babylonia, where it produced a mixed type, which was still further crossed by the Elamite and Cassite conquests. The Assyrians, on the other hand, displayed all the physical and moral characteristics of the Semitic race; and while Babylonia was the home of culture and learning, Assyria produced a breed of ferocious warriors and quick-witted traders.

Chapter II

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

UNTIL the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian history was at once meager and uncertain. With the exception of Herodotos, whose notices are scanty and of doubtful value, we had to depend almost entirely on the copyists and excerptists of Ktesias and Berosos. Ktesias was a native of Knidos, and the physician of Artaxerxes Mnemon, but he seems to have been devoid of critical power. Portions of the annals compiled by Persian writers were translated for him, and with the help of these he endeavored to destroy the credit of Herodotos as a historian. The annals, however, like those of Firdusi or of later Arabic writers, consisted for the most part of mere legendary tales and rationalized myths; we have, therefore, to seek in them not the history but the mythology of the Babylonians. Semiramis was the goddess Ishtar, Ninos the city of Nineveh, Ninyas or Zames the Sun-god. With these legends Ktesias mingled the Greek romance of Sardanapallos, and eked out his list of Assyrian kings with names partly imaginary, partly geographical. Some of these were doubtless due to the translators on whom he depended. In the later Persian period, however, Ktesias becomes more trustworthy.

The work of Berosos was of a far different character. He was a priest of the temple of Bel at Babylon, and is said by Eusebius and Tatian to have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and to have lived into the reign of Antiocus Soter. He had, therefore, special opportunities of knowing the history and astronomy of his country, upon which he wrote in Greek. Recent discoveries have abundantly established the trustworthiness of this Manetho of Babylonia, whose works, unfortunately, are known to us only through quotations at second and third hand. Since a cylinder of Antiocus, the son of Seleucus, has been found inscribed in Babylonian cuneiform, while bilingual fragments in cuneiform and cursive Greek of the Seleucid age have also been discovered, there is no reason why Berosos

should not have been equally well acquainted with both the Greek language and the old literature of his native country. And in spite of the fragmentary and corrupt state in which his fragments have come down to us, we now know that he was so. His account of the Deluge, for instance, agrees even in its details with that of the cuneiform texts.

Josephus seems to have known the original work of Berosos, but the Christian writers quote him only indirectly through the compilation of Alexander Polyhistor (80 B. C.). Hence we can put no confidence in the numbers attached to the dynasties in which Berosos, like his contemporary, Manetho, arranged the list of Babylonian kings. His Arabian dynasty, for example, seems to correspond with the Cassite dynasty of the inscriptions; but if so, the title "Arabian" must be corrupt, as well as the nine kings and 245 years assigned to it, since we know of at least nineteen Cassite monarchs, and the length of time the dynasty lasted must have been about 576 years. Minor dynasties, again, have been either run together or omitted from the list, as a fragmentary tablet which once contained a complete catalogue of legitimate Babylonian monarchs arranged in dynasties introduces a number of very short ones. This was probably the work of either Polyhistor or his copyists; at all events, the Assyrian dynasty of forty-five kings which is made to follow the Arabian one includes at least two dynasties, that of the Assyrian conqueror Tiglath-Adar, which lasted only a few years, and that of native princes, who succeeded in shaking off the Assyrian yoke and maintaining their independence for more than four centuries.

Berosos confined his attention to Babylonian history; the history of Assyria seems to have been compiled by Megasthenes in the time of Seleucus Nicator (290 B. C.), from whom (as Professor Schrader has shown) it was extracted by Abydenos (260 B. C.). Abydenos in turn survives only in the quotations of the Christian writers. But as Nineveh and its monuments had long been destroyed, the only sources Abydenos could have had for his history must have been the records of Babylonia; and it is not surprising, therefore, that the extracts we possess from his work all relate to the period of the Second Assyrian Empire, when Babylonia was brought into close contact with the northern kingdom. The earlier period must have been for the most part a mere blank, or else filled up with myth and legend.

One more classical authority for Babylonian history remains. This is the valuable Canon of Ptolemy, preserved in the Almagest, and giving the chronology of Babylon from 747 B. C. downward. It probably came from Berosos. Other classical notices of Assyro-Babylonian history may be passed over; like those of Diodorus, they are little more than echoes of Ktesias. It is only the Old Testament which gives us fuller and more trustworthy information.

It is, therefore, to the native texts that we have mainly to look for the history of Assyria and Babylonia. These are partly contemporaneous with the events they record, partly more recent compilations. The statements of those that are contemporaneous may be frankly accepted, due allowance being made for Oriental exaggeration and tendency to self-praise. The Assyrian historical documents, however, are singularly free from these faults. They were intended to be read by a large and well-educated public, and the practical character of the Assyrians made them realistic in style. The historical inscriptions are scrupulous in recording the names, and if possible the parentage, of the foreign princes whom they mention; every small town is carefully noted by name, and the numbers, whether of conquered populations and spoil, or of the Assyrian armies, are seldom round and never excessive. Even the disaster which befell Sennacherib—the least trustworthy of all the royal authors—in Palestine is not denied or glossed over; it is simply omitted, leaving a break which presupposes it. Of course, the same accuracy or trustworthiness cannot be expected in later compilations, and many of these, like the legend of Sargon of Agade, merely embody popular tales. But such legends belong rather to Babylonia than to Assyria, where the historical sense was really remarkably developed, and the extreme faithfulness with which old documents were copied inspires us with confidence in the statements made regarding them. The Assyrians early possessed a fixed chronology, reckoned by the names of officers called *limmi*, who were changed every year, and, like the eponymous archons at Athens, gave their name to their year of office. The chief events of each year were added to the name of its eponym, and in the earlier period of the empire the king himself assumed the office in his year of accession. We possess fragments of several editions of the Canon in which the names of the eponyms were recorded in order, and thus have an exact chronology of the empire from 913 B. C. to 659 B. C. Since the inscription of Adad-nirari I. is dated

in the eponymy of Shulman-asharidu, it is clear that the system of dating by eponyms was already in existence in the fourteenth century B. C.; and we may therefore trust Sennacherib when he asserts that a seal which belonged to Tukulti-Ninib was carried off to Babylon 600 years before his own capture of that city, and that 418 years had elapsed between his invasion of Babylonia in 689 B. C. and the defeat of Tiglath-Pileser I. by the Babylonians; or this same Tiglath-Pileser, when he tells us that Shamshi-Adad had built the temple of Anu and Adad at Kilah-Sherghat 701 years before his own restoration of it. The system of eponyms, however, seems to have been confined to Assyria, and the early Babylonians do not appear to have had any settled system of chronology. Their inscriptions, if dated at all, are dated by such events as the capture of a city or an inundation of the river. Still they must have had some more definite mode of counting time, since Ashur-bani-pal affirms that Kudur-Nankhundi, the Elamite, had oppressed Accad 1635 years before his own conquest of Shushan; while the table of Babylonian dynasties, first discovered by George Smith, assigns to each king the length of his reign in years, months, and days. It must have been some such table as this which was used by Berosos. It is unfortunate that only fragments of this table are preserved, as our acquaintance with early Babylonian history and chronology is extremely meager and uncertain, and has to be gathered chiefly from the brick legends of the early kings or stray notices in later inscriptions. An inscription of Assyrian origin which gives brief notices of the occasions on which the monarchs of Assyria and Babylonia had come into contact with each other since the reigns of Ashur-bel-nisheshu and Karaindash is useful, since our knowledge of Assyrian chronology enables us to tabulate the Babylonian kings mentioned in the text. It is only with the era of Nabonasar (747 B. C.), and the mutual help afforded by the Assyrian inscriptions and the Canon of Ptolemy, that an exact chronology of Babylonia begins. For the empire of Nebuchadrezzar the records of the Egibi banking firm are invaluable—dated deeds extending, year by year, from the reign of Nebuchadrezzar to the close of that of Darius Hystaspis.

The history of Babylonia, like that of most great nations, begins with myth. Ten kings reigned over the country before the Deluge, their reigns lasting for 120 *sari*, or 432,000 years. The chronology as well as the number of reigns has a purely astro-

nomical origin: the origin of the names has yet to be discovered. The first of these antediluvian kings was Aloros of Babylon, which indicates the Babylonian parentage of the whole story. Aloros took the title of "shepherd," a title which we find assumed by the early Chaldean princes, and which, like the ποίμην λαῶν of Homer, proves the pastoral habits of the people before they became civilized citizens. The second successor of Aloros, Amelon, came from Pantibibla or Booktown, possibly Sippara, as did also Daonus, the Dun, or "mighty one," of the inscriptions. Otiartes was the ninth of the line, and belonged to Larankha, the Surippak of the texts. His son and successor was Xisuthros, the hero of the Deluge.

With the Deluge the mythical history of Babylonia takes a new departure. From this event to the Persian conquest was a period of 36,000 years, or an astronomical cycle called *saros*.[1] Xisuthros, with his family and friends, alone survived the waters which drowned the rest of mankind on account of their sins. He had been ordered by the gods to build a ship, to pitch it within and without, and to stock it with animals of every species. Xisuthros sent out first a dove, then a swallow, and lastly a raven, to discover whether the earth was dry; the dove and the swallow returned to the ship, and it was only when the raven flew away that the rescued hero ventured to leave his ark. He found that he had been stranded on the peak of the mountain of Nizir, "the mountain of the world," whose name signifies "protection," or "salvation." On its peak Xisuthros offered sacrifices, placing calamus, cedar wood, and incense in seven large bowls, and the gods, attracted by the sweet odor, gathered about the sacrificer. Immediately afterward Xisuthros and his wife, like the biblical Enoch, were translated to the regions of the blessed beyond the river of death, and his people made their way westward to Sippara. Here they disinterred the books buried by their late ruler before the Deluge had taken place, and reëstablished themselves in their old country under the government first of Evekhoos, and then of his son Khomasbolos. Meanwhile other colonists had arrived in the plain of Sumer, and here, under the leadership of the giant Etana, called Titan by the Greek writers, they built a city of brick, and essayed to erect a tower by means of which they might scale the sky, and

[1] This assumes that Brandis is right in supplying 258 years for the fourth dynasty of Alexander Polyhistor where the numerals have dropped out in the MS.

so win for themselves the immortality granted to Xisuthros. The spot where the tower was raised was the mound at Babylon, now known as the Amram, where stood the temple of Anu, the palace of the kings, and the hanging gardens of Nebuchadrezzar, and the season they chose for building it was the autumnal equinox. But the tower was overthrown in the night by the winds, and Bel frustrated their purpose by confounding their language, and scattering them on the mound. Hence the place was called "the gate of God," though a later punning etymology connected it with *balal*, "to confound."

Now happened the war waged by Etana, Bel, Prometheus, and Ogygos, against Kronos or Ea, and the adventures of the giant Ner, who, along with Etana, finally found a seat among the crowned heads in the underworld of Hades. Now, too, the goddess Ishtar descended from heaven to woo the sons of men; Alala, the wild eagle, the lion-son of Silele; Isullanu, the woodsman; and above all, Tammuz, the young and beautiful Sun-god, the Adonis of Semitic and Greek story. Slain by the boar's tusk of winter, Tammuz sank to the under-world, whither he was followed by Ishtar, and not released till he had drunk of the waters of life. More famous even than Tammuz, however, was the solar hero, Gilgamesh, who has been identified with the biblical Nimrod. Gilgamesh was the prototype of the Melkarth of Tyre and the Herakles of Greece; and the twelve labors of Herakles may be traced back to the adventures of Gilgamesh, as recorded in the twelve books of the great Epic of early Chaldea. The Epic, whose authorship was ascribed to one Sin-liki-unnini, was preserved in the library of Erech, a city with which Gilgamesh was specially associated, though his birthplace was supposed to be Marada, the city of "solar glory." Its date may be roughly ascribed to about 2000 B. C., so that it belongs to the period when the Semitic race had been long in possession of the land.

At the time of the earliest contemporary records, and for a long period thereafter, Babylonia was divided into a number of more or less important city-states, each grouped about the sanctuary of its local deity, though from the first the tendency to the formation of larger states was manifested in the absorption, from time to time, of the weaker cities by their more powerful neighbors. Among the most prominent cities of the early period were Ur, Eridu, Larsa, Erech, and Lagash in the south, and Kish,

Agade, Sippara, and Babylon in the north. The oldest ruler known to us is En-shag-kushana, who calls himself lord of Kengi or southern Babylonia. How far his rule extended is not altogether clear, but Erech seems to have been his capital, and the city of Nippur, with its famous temple, formed part of his dominions. He reigned about 4500 B. C., and even at this early date the Semites had gained a footing in the land and established themselves in the city of Kish. En-shag-kushana defeated them in battle and checked their southward progress for a time, but about 4000 B. C. Lugalzaggisi, King of Kish, overran southern Babylonia, established his capital at Erech, and claims, in his inscriptions, to rule from the Persian Gulf to Lake Van. Apparently, however, the empire which he established was not of long duration. In the meantime, the city of Lagash, whose earliest known king, Urukagina, was probably a contemporary of En-shag-kushana, was growing in influence and power. About 4200 B. C. Eannatum of Lagash conquered the Semites of Kish and set up, in honor of his victory, a stele on which he is depicted charging upon the enemy, while vultures devour the bodies of the slain. For some four hundred years after this the kings of Lagash held a prominent position in Babylonia, until they were forced to yield to the Semitic dynasty of Agade.

Sargon of Agade, who flourished about 3800 B. C., was one of the greatest in the long line of Babylonian monarchs. More than once he attacked Elam successfully, and he made several campaigns against Syria and Palestine. In the course of one of these he crossed to Cyprus and there, as on the opposite shores of the mainland, he caused images of himself to be erected. The empire of Sargon extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and the city of Babylon, which he founded, was a fitting monument to his greatness. It is to his reign that the influence of Babylonian culture upon the populations of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean must first be traced. His fame long survived in popular tradition, and, like other great national heroes, legends gathered about his name. It was told of him that his mother bore him in secret and committed him, like a second Moses, to the river in a basket of reeds pitched with bitumen. The river conveyed him to Akki, the water drawer who brought him up as his own son until, by the favor of the goddess Ishtar, he became king and brought vast regions under his sway. Sargon was followed by

his son Naram-Sin, who worthily maintained the glory of his father's reign, but of his successors little is known, and for some time after him, the history of Babylonia is involved in obscurity.

When light breaks again, we find that the rulers of Lagash have once more come to the front. Two of these monarchs, Ur-Bau (about 3200 B. C.) and Gudea (about 3000 B. C.), have left long inscriptions and both were great builders; but under the successors of Gudea the power of Lagash declined, and the hegemony of Babylonia passed to the city of Ur, the birthplace of Abraham. Ur-Gur of Ur, who calls himself King of Sumer and Accad, or southern and northern Babylonia, erected temples and other buildings at Ur, Erech, Larsa, and Nippur. The great pyramidal tower in the latter city, explored by the American expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania, bears ample testimony to the great resources at his command and the wonderful skill of his architects. He was succeeded by his son, Dungi, who emulated his father in his building operations; he completed the temple of the Moon-god at Ur, and built also at Erech and at Lagash. From Ur the supremacy passed to Isin, whose king held it for several centuries, but about 2400 B. C. Ur recovered her old prestige and influence, under Dungi II., and Isin became her vassal. In 2285 B. C. Kudur-Nankhundi, King of Elam, invaded Babylonia and carried off from Erech the statue of its goddess Nana, and his example was soon followed by other Elamite princes. Kudur-Mabuk, Prince of Emutbal in western Elam, took possession of Ur, and his son, Eri-Aku or Rim-Sin, ruled both at Ur and at Larsa.

In the meantime a dynasty had arisen at Babylon, which was destined to inaugurate a new and brilliant period in the history of the land. Its founder, Sumu-abi, began to reign about 2400 B. C., and under his successors Babylon advanced steadily in prosperity and power. The sixth king of this dynasty, Hammurabi, who ruled for fifty-five years about 2250 B. C., was a worthy successor of the great Sargon. In the Old Testament he is called Amraphel, and is represented as being a contemporary of Abraham. In the thirtieth year of his reign he expelled the Elamites from Babylonian soil, and, as the deliverer of his country from the foreign invaders, was readily acknowledged as king of all Babylonia. Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine fell under his sway, and once more a king of Babylon ruled from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. But Hammurabi was something more than a con-

queror; he was a consummate statesman as well, and he organized his kingdom upon so firm a foundation that, in spite of internal revolution and foreign invaders, his work endured for nearly two thousand years. From his time until the conquest of Cyrus the land was no more broken up into petty independent states, and Babylon was the acknowledged capital of a united Babylonia. In every direction, moreover, he developed the natural resources of the country. By cutting new canals, and cleaning out the old canals, he brought the system of irrigation to a high degree of efficiency, and he built a great embankment to protect the land against the devastating floods which occurred in the spring of the year along the lower reaches of the Tigris. Throughout the land he rebuilt and adorned the temples of the local gods, and thus conciliated the good will of his subjects. He codified the laws, established courts of law everywhere, and gave his personal attention to the administration of justice. It was not without reason that the Babylonians of a later day looked back upon the reign of Hammurabi as the golden age of their history. The dynasty of Hammurabi came to an end about 2094 B. C., and was followed by the so-called Second Dynasty of Babylon, of which little is known save the names of the eleven monarchs composing it and the lengths of their respective reigns.

About 1750 B. C. Babylonia was overrun by swarms of barbarians, the Kasshu or Cassites, who poured down from the mountains to the north of Babylon between Elam and Media, subdued the whole land, and established a dynasty lasting, according to the native chronological lists, for 576 years. For a long time the rulers of Babylonia bear Cassite names, and a number of Cassite divinities found a place in the Babylonian pantheon, but Babylonian culture finally prevailed. The Cassite conquerors gradually adopted the language, the religion, and the customs of the conquered Babylonians and were at length absorbed into the older population. The correspondence between the Cassite kings of Babylon and the Egyptian Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, about 1400 B. C., shows that important commercial relations then existed between Babylonia and Egypt and that the royal houses of the two countries were allied by marriage.

It was, in all probability, the Cassite conquest that freed Assyria from the domination of Babylon and enabled her to take her place as an independent kingdom. Later legends ascribe the foundation

of the kingdom to the Moon-god, while Sargon boasts of "the 350 kings," who had preceded him and had "sent forth the people of the land of Bel"; but Assyria was but a portion of the Babylonian Empire in the age of Hammurabi, and the earliest Assyrian princes of whom we know were merely petty rulers of Asshur, the original capital of Assyria, from which it derived its name. One of these rulers was Shamshi-Adad, the son of Ishme Dagan, who built the temple of Anu and Adad at Asshur, and whose date is fixed at 1820 B. C. by an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. It was not till long afterward that "the kindgom was founded" by Bel-kapkapu or Bel-bani, and the chieftains of Asshur became kings of Assyria. From this time forward, however, their power continued steadily to grow. About 1450 B. C. Ashur-bel-nisheshu made a treaty with the Babylonians, and his successor, Puzur-Ashur, conducted negotiations with them in regard to a settlement of the boundary line. Two generations later the Cassite king of Babylon married an Assyrian princess. Her son, Kadashman-Kharbe I., was murdered by the party opposed to Assyrian influence, but the usurper, Nazi-bugash, was quickly overthrown by the Assyrians, who placed Kurigalzu II., a brother of Kadashman-Kharbe, on the throne. This event may be considered the turning-point in the history of the kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates; Assyria henceforth takes the place of the worn-out monarchy of Babylonia, and plays the chief part in the affairs of Western Asia until the day of its final fall. Less than a hundred years later the Assyrians were again in Babylonia, but this time as avowed enemies to all parties alike; Babylon was captured by the Assyrian monarch, Tukulti-Ninib, about 1280 B. C., and for a brief period its kings were vassals of Assyria.

Hardly was Tukulti-Ninib dead, however, when the Babylonians seized the opportunity to make themselves free, and for a time the power of Assyria steadily declined. But Ashur-dan (about 1210 B. C.) recovered from the Babylonians a portion of the territory they had wrested from Assyria, and with his reign begins a new period of Assyrian success. The Cassite dynasty of Babylon came to an end about 1207 B. C., and was succeeded by a line of Semitic rulers whom the native chroniclers term the dynasty of Isin. The most famous of these, Nebuchadrezzar I. (1135 B. C.), gained a decisive victory over the Elamites and, though defeated by the Assyrians under their king, Ashur-resh-ishi, was able to

maintain the integrity of his dominions. But the political supremacy of Babylon was gone; henceforth for many centuries Assyria, in spite of some vicissitudes of fortune, was to be the chief power of Western Asia. Tiglath-Pileser I., the son and successor of Ashur-resh-ishi, carried his arms as far as Cilicia and the Mediterranean, overran Kommagene, chastised the Arameans of Mesopotamia, swept the wild district of Kurdistan, and, after a momentary repulse at the hands of Merodach-nadin-akhe, the Babylonian king, defeated his antagonist on the banks of the Lower Zab and ravaged Babylonia, capturing Sippara, Opis, and even Babylon, the capital, itself. Merodach-nadin-akhe saved himself by a timely submission; but a desultory war continued between his successors and Ashur-bel-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser.

After this Assyria sinks for a while below the horizon of history. Its power had been founded on the individual energy and military skill of its monarchs, and rapidly declined under a feeble prince. Pethor, at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates, along with the adjacent territory, fell into the hands of the Arameans, who occupied the upper Mesopotamian valley and, pressing into Syria, established the powerful kingdom of Damascus. But the power of Assyria was only temporarily weakened, and it revived again under Ashur-dan II., whose son, Adad-nirari II. (911-891 B. C.), and great-grandson, Ashur-nazir-pal III. (885-860 B. C.), made the name of Assyria again terrible to the surrounding nations. Ashur-nazir-pal was the most brutal and ferocious of even the Assyrian kings; but he was also an energetic warrior and a great conqueror. The limits of his empire exceeded those of Tiglath-Pileser I.; Kurdistan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia were traversed by his armies again and again, and his image was sculptured on the rocks at the sources of the Tigris by the side of those of Tiglath-Pileser I. and his own father, Tukulti-Ninib II. Nizir and its mountains, where the ark of the Chaldean Noah had rested, were overrun and ravaged, and the footsteps of the Assyrian conqueror were marked by impalements, by pyramids of human heads, and by unspeakable barbarities. Nabu-apal-iddina of Babylonia was defeated; Sangara of Carchemish and his brother princes paid tribute, and on the shores of the Mediterranean Ashur-nazir-pal received the submission and treasure of the rich and unwarlike cities of Phœnicia. But these distant raids produced little else than misery abroad and accession of wealth to the royal treasury at home; no attempt was made

to hold the conquests that had been gained, or to compensate for the destruction of culture in the West by introducing into the rude regions of the East the borrowed civilization of Assyria. The cities of Assyria, nevertheless, were enriched with the spoils of foreign victory. Splendid palaces, temples, and other public buildings were erected, and adorned with elaborate sculptures and rich painting. Calah, which had been founded by Shalmaneser I., 1300 B. C., was rebuilt by Ashur-nazir-pal, who made it his favorite residence, and established a library there. His successor was his son, Shalmaneser II., named probably after the founder of Calah.

Shalmaneser II., whose long and prosperous reign of thirty-five years marks the climax of the First Assyrian Empire, inherited his father's vigor and military talent, along with greater political ability and appreciation of culture. His opening campaign was directed against the district about Lakes Van and Urumiyeh, and he next attacked the Mesopotamian state of Bit-Adini, which was repeatedly invaded in the course of the next three years and was finally annexed to Assyria. By the conquest of Tul-Barsip, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and the capture of Pethor (now Tashatan), the Assyrians regained possession of the ford across the river, and in 854 B. C. came into conflict with Hamath. Here Shalmaneser found himself confronted by a confederacy of western princes, under the leadership of Hadad-idri, or Hadadezer, of Damascus and Irkhulena of Hamath, whom a common danger had aroused to oppose the threatened advance of the Assyrian forces. But the confederacy was shattered in the battle of Karkar or Aroer, in which, among others, Ahab of Israel took part with 2000 chariots and 10,000 infantry, and the Orontes was choked with the slain. The Assyrians themselves, however, had suffered so much that Shalmaneser was unable to follow up his victory, and two years afterward turned his attention to Babylonia, which he invaded and reduced to a state of vassalage, under the pretext of helping the legitimate king, Marduk-nadin-shum, against his insurgent brother. It is on this occasion that we first hear of the Caldai or Chaldeans, whom the Assyrians found inhabiting the marshy district of the Persian Gulf. After thus securing his frontier on the south, Shalmaneser again marched against Syria (850 B. C.). The war lasted, at intervals, for eleven years, during which Hadadezer was succeeded by Hazael, and Shalmaneser obtained several barren victories, and claimed others which a strict criticism

THE OLDEST BABYLONIAN CYLINDERS (FROM THE DE CLERCQ COLLECTION)

The cylinders show specimens of primitive Sumerian art
The stone tablet is covered with writing of Ur-Nina of Lagash, about 4300 B. C.

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must deny to him. In 842 B. C., however, Hazael really suffered a decisive defeat on the heights of Shenir, and his camp, along with 1121 chariots and 470 horses, fell into the hands of the Assyrians, who proceeded to besiege him in his capital, Damascus. But the siege was soon raised, though not before Jehu of Israel had sent tribute; and after wasting the Hauran, Shalmaneser marched to Beyrout, and there carved an image of himself on the rocky promontory of Ba'li-rasi, at the entrance to the Nahr-el-Kelb.

The defeat of Hazael had removed the only rival Assyria had to fear. From this time forward Shalmaneser contented himself with expeditions to distant regions, such as Phœnicia, Melitene, Kappadokia, and Armenia, for the sake of exacting tribute. After 834 B. C. he ceased to command his troops in person, the turtan or general-in-chief, Da'an-Ashur, taking his place. The infirmities of old age, which had no doubt obliged him to take this step, further led to the rebellion of his eldest son, Ashur-danin-apal, which troubled the last days of the old king, and well-nigh proved fatal to him. Twenty-seven cities, including Nineveh and Asshur, which probably resented the preference shown to Calah, as well as numerous smaller towns, declared for the pretender, and it was with considerable difficulty that the revolt was put down by Shalmaneser's second son, Shamshi-Adad II., who shortly afterward succeeded him. Shamshi-Adad (824-812) and his son, Adad-nirari III. (811-783), fairly maintained the empire they had received; but their efforts were chiefly expended upon campaigns in Armenia, Media, and the neighboring regions, from which we may perhaps infer that the wild tribes of the east had begun to infest the Assyrian frontier. Shamshi-Adad, however, also endeavored to restore the supremacy of Assyria in Babylonia. Marduk-balatsu-ikbi of Babylon and his allies were defeated with great slaughter at Dur-Papsukul about 820 B. C., and eight years later he succeeded in entering Babylon. Adad-nirari III. obliged Mari of Damascus to pay him tribute, as well as the Phœnicians, Israelites, Edomites, and Philistines. But though the royal annals show that the kings still led their armies out to battle year by year, it is plain that the power and vigor of the reigning dynasty were wearing out. The campaigns were either resultless, or else were made for purely defensive purposes. The empire of Shalmaneser had melted away. A few more princes followed Adad-nirari III., and then in 763 B. C. an eclipse of the sun took place on June 15, and the city of Asshur

revolted. In 761 B. C. the revolt had spread to Arrapakhitis, and two years later to Gozan. In 758 B. C. it was indeed stamped out in Asshur, but the more distant provinces were lost. Three years afterward, Ashur-nirari, the last of his line, ascended the throne. His reign lasted only ten years. What was left of the Assyrian Empire had been undermined by decay and discontent, the army finally declared against the monarch, and he and his dynasty fell together. On the 30th of Iyyar, or April, 745 B. C., Pul or Poros seized the vacant crown, and assumed the name of the ancient conqueror, Tiglath-Pileser.

With the accession of Tiglath-Pileser III. the Second Assyrian Empire may be said to begin. This Second Empire differed essentially from the First. The usurper was an organizer as well as a conqueror, and sought for the first time in the history of Western Asia to give his conquests a consolidated and permanent character. The conquered provinces were no longer loosely connected with the central power by the payment of tribute, which was refused as soon as the Assyrian armies were out of sight; nor were the campaigns undertaken by the kings of Nineveh mere raids, whose chief objects were prestige and plunder. The conquests of the Second Empire were made with a fixed purpose, and in pursuance of a definite line of policy, and, once made, they were tenaciously preserved. The conquered nations became subject provinces, governed, wherever possible, by Assyrian satraps; while turbulent populations were deported to some distant part of the empire. Each province and capital city had its annual contribution to the imperial treasury fixed and regulated; and centralization, with its attendant bureaucracy, superseded the old loose union of mutually hostile states and towns. Tiglath-Pileser took good care that the revolts to which he owed the crown should for the future be impossible. To him is due the inauguration of the principle which was afterward applied by Darius Hystaspis with so much success to the organization of the Persian Empire. The title to power which his birth denied him was secured by the institutions he established.

The Second Assyrian Empire was essentially a commercial one. It was founded and maintained for the purpose of attracting the trade and wealth of Western Asia into Assyrian hands. The instincts of the warrior and crusader had made way for the more deeply rooted trading instincts of the Semitic race. The expeditions undertaken against the barbarous tribes of the east and north

were made solely for the purpose of protecting the frontier and caravan roads, and of keeping the predatory excursions of the mountaineers in check. The resources of the empire were really reserved for the subjugation of Babylonia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, the rich and civilized marts of the ancient world. It was to divert the stream of commerce into their new satrapy of Carchemish that the Assyrian monarchs endeavored to destroy the merchant communities of Tyre and Sidon.

Babylonia was necessarily the first to feel the effects of the new policy. Before six months were over Tiglath-Pileser was leading his forces against the southern kingdom. The northern part of Babylonia was annexed to Assyria, and secured by a chain of fortresses. After chastising the Kurds, the Assyrian king next turned westward. Sarduris of Armenia, at the head of a confederacy of northern princes, in vain essayed to bar his way. The confederacy was defeated in Kommagene, Arpad (now Tel Erfad) was captured, and all Syria lay at his feet. For the present he was content with exacting tribute from the Hittites of Carchemish, the Arameans, and the Phœnicians. Hamath, then in alliance with Uzziah of Judah, was conquered in 738, and its nineteen districts placed under Assyrian officers. For the first time we find the system of deportation applied on a large scale. Three years later Sarduris of Ararat was again attacked, and the neighborhood of his capital, Dhuspas or Tosp, now Van, was devastated over a space of 450 miles. Freed from any danger from the north, Tiglath-Pileser now eagerly seized the opportunity of overthrowing the power of Damascus offered by the request of the Jewish king, Ahaz for protection from his Syrian and Israelitish enemies. Rezin was defeated and besieged in his capital, Damascus, in 734, and the whole country far and near, including Samaria, Ammon, Moab, and Philistia, was reduced to subjection. At length, after a siege of two years, Damascus surrendered, its inhabitants were enslaved, and Rezin was put to death. Syria became an Assyrian province, and all the princes of the west were summoned thither to do homage to the conqueror, while Tyre was fined 150 talents of gold or about $2,000,000. One of the chief objects of Tiglath-Pileser's policy had thus been achieved. But Babylonia still remained. In 731 B. C., accordingly, the Assyrian armies again marched into Chaldea. Ukin-ziru, the Khin-ziros of Ptolemy, was slain, Babylon and the other great cities were taken, and in 729 B. C.

Tiglath-Pileser assumed the imperial title of "King of Sumer and Accad."

But he did not live long to enjoy his success. In 727 B. C. he died, probably without children, and Shalmaneser IV., one of his generals, succeeded to his empire and his policy. Shalmaneser, however, failed to found a dynasty. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture Tyre, he died, or was murdered, during the siege of Samaria in 722 B. C., and the supreme power was seized by another general, who assumed the venerable name of Sargon, "the constituted king." Sargon himself makes no pretension to royal ancestry, and though his grandson, Esarhaddon, claimed descent from two early kings, Bel-bani and Adasi, his claim was probably admitted only by the flattery of a court. In 721 B. C. he took Samaria, and deported 27,200 of its leading inhabitants into Gozan and Media, the remainder being placed under an Assyrian governor. Meanwhile Sargon had been reminded that the work of Tiglath-Pileser had been but half accomplished. Merodach-baladan, the Chaldean king of Bit-Yakin, who in 729 B. C. had paid homage and tribute to Sargon's predecessor, now seized upon the throne of Babylon and strengthened himself by an alliance with Khumbanigash, King of Elam. Sargon met the allied forces at Durilu and, though he claims a victory, the advantage would seem to have been with his opponents. At all events Sargon retired to his own dominions, leaving Merodach-baladan in full possession of Babylon.

Ilubidi or Ya'ubidi of Hamath had seized upon Sargon's difficulties with Babylon as a fitting opportunity to throw off his allegiance to Assyria, and, supported by Hanno of Gaza, had formed a coalition including the cities of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria. Hezekiah of Judah, who seems to have sympathized with the movement, prudently refrained committing himself to it and paid his tribute in time. It was well that he did so, for Sargon with characteristic promptness attacked Ilubidi at Karkar, before he could summon his allies, and totally defeated him. Ilubidi himself was flayed alive and the other leaders of the revolt in Hamath were put to death. Hanno, meanwhile, had been reinforced by a large body of troops from the Arabian kingdom of Musri, under their general, Sibe, and met Sargon at Raphia. He too sustained a crushing defeat, and, falling into the hands of the enemy, was carried in chains to Nineveh.

In 717 Carchemish (now Jerablus), the wealthy capital of the

once powerful Hittites, withheld its tribute and formed an alliance with Mita, King of the Moschians. The city was taken: its last monarch, Pisiris, with all his treasures, fell into the hands of Sargon, and Assyria became mistress of the trade of Western Asia. Carchemish commanded the great caravan road from the East, and its satrap was one of the most important of the Assyrian governors. From this time onward every effort was made to attract all the commerce of Asia to Carchemish, its maneh became the standard weight of the empire, and no pains were spared to destroy the rival trade of the Phœnicians.

The following year Sargon moved against the Armenian kingdom of Urartu, which had for some time shown a disposition to contest the Assyrian supremacy in the north. In the ensuing war, which lasted, with brief intermissions, for several years, Sargon was completely successful. Urartu was forced to submit, and Rusas, its king, committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the conqueror. The Assyrian forces penetrated into the trackless mountains of distant Media; Cilicia and the Tibareni were placed under an Assyrian governor, and the city of Malatiyeh was razed to the ground. Sargon could now turn to Palestine, where Philistia, Edom, and Moab, encouraged by Babylonia and Egypt, had refused to pay the tribute due to their Assyrian lord. But in 711 Sargon swept down the coast, Ashdod and Gath were captured, and the other Palestinian states avoided punishment by sending in their tribute. The suppression of the revolt in Palestine came none too soon. Aided by the Elamites, the Chaldean prince, Merodach-baladan of Bit-Yakin, had made himself master of Babylonia after Tiglath-Pileser's death, and the short campaign of Sargon in 721 failed to dispossess him. For twelve years Merodach-baladan was undisturbed. But he knew well that the Assyrian king was only waiting to complete his work in other directions before asserting his claim to Babylonia. When, therefore, the coalition of the northern nations was breaking down before the Assyrian arms, the Babylonian king sent embassies to Judah and the neighboring principalities, in order to concert measures of defense against the common enemy. Sargon, however, fell upon Palestine before Babylonia was ready to move, and when Merodach-baladan at last stirred he found himself single-handed face to face with the whole might of the Assyrian Empire. The issue could not be doubtful. The skillful tactics of Sargon prevented the Elam-

ites from coming to Merodach-baladan's assistance, and he was driven first from Babylon, and then from the cities of the south. His last refuge, Bit-Yakin, in the marshes, was taken by storm in 709, and he himself was forced to take refuge in Elam. Sargon now set himself to obliterate all traces of the Chaldean usurpation. The turbulent tribes whom the late king had settled in Babylonia were exterminated or expelled, and Sargon did his utmost to ingratiate himself with the native priesthood. His coronation in Babylon was like the coronation of the German emperors at Rome, and seemed to give him that title of legitimacy which was

wanting in his own country. In the following year his pride was gratified by the voluntary submission of Uperi of Dilmun in the Persian Gulf, as well as of the Greek and Phoenician kings of the island of Cyprus, where he caused a monument of himself to be erected at Kition or Larnaka, inscribed with pseudo-archaic cuneiform characters. It was the first direct contact between Greek and Assyrian; the culture of Babylonia and Assyria had long since been indirectly leavening the Hellenic world, but the barrier that had existed between them was now broken down. The divided nationalities of Western Asia had been fused into the Assyrian Empire, and Assyria now held sway from the Persian Gulf to the

Mediterranean. Elam was left the solitary rival of the new power in Asia, and the last years of Sargon's life were spent in a desultory war with it.

The political idea conceived by Tiglath-Pileser was thus realized. Egypt, it is true, was still unconquered, but for how long depended on the energy and ability of Sargon's successors. At first, however, these seemed to be wanting. The fierce old king was murdered in his new city of Dur-Sharrukin, the modern Khorsabad, and succeeded by his son, Sennacherib, on the 12th of Ab (July), 705 B. C. Brought up in the purple, Sennacherib had none of his father's virtues or talents. Vainglorious, tyrannical, and brutal, he owed the preservation of the empire that had been bequeathed to him rather to the thoroughness with which all elements of opposition had been crushed than to any efforts of his own. The boastful style of his inscriptions contrasts sharply with the plain simplicity of his father's, and makes it needful to examine carefully the accuracy of their contents.

Merodach-baladan, meanwhile, was biding his time, and the death of Sargon was the signal for a fresh attempt on his part to establish himself at Babylon. But a battle at Kish again drove him from the country, and Sennacherib found himself free to devastate Ellip (in the neighborhood of the modern Elwind). Then he fell upon Phœnicia (701 B. C.). Sidon and other cities were captured, and the Phœnician king, Luli or Elulæus, was forced to take refuge in Cyprus. The turn of Judah came next. Hezekiah's allies in Askalon and Ekron were severely punished; the Jewish towns, with a great quantity of spoil and captives, were taken; and the Jewish king himself purchased forgiveness by the gift of thirty talents of gold, three hundred talents of silver, precious stones, couches of ivory, dancing girls, and eunuchs, and male and female slaves. Sennacherib's return to Nineveh at this juncture has been ascribed to a reverse at the hands of the Egyptians on the southern border of Palestine, and to a pestilence which is said to have ravaged his army. The evidence in regard to these events is, however, far from convincing, and it is doubtful if Sennacherib ever came into actual contact with Egypt. It is much more probable that urgent affairs in the East demanded his presence at home.

One cause, at least, was the unquiet state of Babylonia, which could not forget that the power that claimed supremacy over her was a mere *parvenu*. The year after the campaign in Palestine

(700 B. C.), a Chaldean named Mushezib-Marduk stirred up revolt, which Sennacherib had some difficulty in suppressing. Merodach-baladan and his followers had settled at the mouth of the Eulæus, and in 694 Sennacherib found it necessary to have a fleet built and manned by Cyprians and Phœnicians in the Persian Gulf, by means of which he destroyed the Chaldean settlement. The following year a certain Nergal-ushezib made himself king of Babylon by the aid of the Elamites, but was soon defeated and taken a captive to Nineveh.

In 692 Sennacherib made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Elam; and while he was thus occupied Mushezib-Marduk took advantage of the opportunity to seat himself upon the throne of Babylon. About a year later the allied forces of Babylon and Elam met the Assyrians at Khalule and, though Sennacherib as usual claims a victory, his advance was checked and he retired forthwith to Assyria. In the campaign of 689 he was, however, more successful; Babylon was captured and given to the flames. Its inhabitants were sold into slavery, and the canal Arakhtu was choked with its ruins. If, however, we may judge from the interregnum which marks the last eight years of Sennacherib's reign in Ptolemy's Canon, Chaldea refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Assyrian domination up to the day of his death. The barbarous destruction of the venerable city of Babylon must have aroused against the ruthless monarch the horror of every inhabitant of the southern kingdom.

It was the last political achievement of Sennacherib of which we know. The latter years of his life seem to have been spent in inactivity, or else in constructing canals and aqueducts in Assyria, in embanking the Tigris, and in building himself a palace at Nineveh on a grander scale than had ever been attempted before. His partiality for his younger son, Esarhaddon, excited the jealousy of the two elder ones, Adrammelech and Nergal-sharezer, who murdered their father in the month Tebet (December), 681 B. C. Esarhaddon, who seems to have been in Babylonia at the time, took prompt measures to secure the succession and to punish his father's murderers. First causing himself to be proclaimed at Babylon, he marched upon Nineveh, which the rebels abandoned at his approach. Overtaking them at Khanigalbat, near Malatiyeh, he gained an easy victory and compelled his brothers to take refuge in Armenia. Esarhaddon then returned to Nineveh and was crowned there on the

eighteenth of Sivan (May-June), 680. In the first year of his reign, after settling affairs in the Gulf district, and establishing Na'id-Marduk, as a vassal of Assyria, on the throne of his father, Merodach-baladan, he directed his attention to the restoration of Babylon, rebuilding its walls and temples, and bringing back its captured deities, its plunder, and its people. Henceforward Babylon became the second capital of the empire, the Assyrian court residing alternately there and at Nineveh. The event quickly showed the wise policy of this measure of conciliation.

Esarhaddon's reign, in fact, is characterized throughout by keen political tact. His political sagacity was equal to the high military talents which enabled him to complete the fabric of the Second Empire by the conquest of Egypt. His disposition, too, was unusually mild and humane for an Assyrian prince, and his powers of conciliation enabled him to consolidate what his military genius had won. One of his most remarkable achievements was his expedition into the heart of Arabia, where he penetrated to the kingdoms of Huz and Buz, a considerable portion of the march being through arid desert. The feat has never since been excelled, and the terror inspired by it among the desert tribes was such that the country adjoining them was for the first time rendered safe. In the north, too, the Assyrian army penetrated almost equally far. Here Teispes the Kimmerian was defeated between the Zagros and Niphates, and thrown with his hordes westward into Asia Minor, while the copper mines in the eastern frontiers of Media—the very name of which had hitherto been barely known—were occupied and worked. This part of the country was already inhabited by Aryan Medes, and the great Semitic empire accordingly found itself in contact on both east and west with an Aryan population, and with those small independent states which seemed the natural political organization of the Aryan race. Among the twenty-two kings who sent materials for the palace of Esarhaddon at Nineveh were some Cyprian ones with Greek names. Greeks and Medes were thus divided only by a single empire. The day was preparing when the barrier should be removed, and the great struggle of Asiatic and European Aryan was to commence.

Early in his reign Esarhaddon had taken good care to pick a quarrel with Sidon. The city was destroyed, its inhabitants were settled elsewhere, and, though Tyre was proof against Assyrian attack, the trade of the Phœnicians was half ruined, and Carchem-

ish and Nineveh were enriched at their expense. The conquest of Egypt was alone left to be achieved.

In 670 B. C., after effectually blockading Tyre on the land side, Esarhaddon moved against Egypt, marching from Aphek to Raphia in fifteen days. Tirhakah was defeated, Memphis entered in triumph, and Thebes compelled to open its gates. Egypt was divided into twenty satrapies, governed partly by Assyrians, partly by native vassal princes, who were, however, watched by a number of Assyrian garrisons. Necho of Sais and Memphis headed the list of governors. On his return from the campaign, Esarhaddon had his younger son, Ashur-bani-pal, solemnly proclaimed as his successor on the throne of Assyria on the 12th of Iyyar or April, 669 B. C., and died six months afterward, while on his way to put down a revolt in Egypt. Ashur-bani-pal's first act was to appoint his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon.

Ashur-bani-pal, the Sardanapaleus of the Greeks, to whom he became known through the medium of Lydia, was the *grand monarque* of Assyria. Ambitious and luxurious, he was a munificent patron of literature and art, and while recognizing his own military incapacity, selected able generals, who extended and maintained his empire. After the conquest of Elam, which took place during his reign, the Assyrian Empire reached its final limits; but it had within it the elements of decay, and the pride and ambition of the monarch brought about the coalition which robbed him of Egypt, and well-nigh shattered the whole empire. The court set an example of costly magnificence, of cultivated luxury, and of learned antiquarianism, and Assyrian literature entered upon its Alexandrine stage.

Ashur-bani-pal found Egypt in a state of revolt. Two campaigns were requisite to quell it, to drive Tirhakah back to the domains of his ancestors, and to destroy Thebes. Meanwhile, the siege of Tyre, begun before Esarhaddon's death, was closely pressed. The Tyrians at last submitted, and their king and his brothers had to send their daughters to the harem of the Assyrian monarch, while Tubal and Cilicia also owned the supremacy of Nineveh. The name of the great king spread to the extreme west of Asia Minor, and Gugu or Gyges of Lydia voluntarily sent him tribute, including two Kimmerian chiefs whom the Lydian prince had captured with his own hand. The submission of Gyges was ascribed to a dream; more probably Gyges trusted to Assyria for

defense against the adherents of the dynasty he had displaced and the Kimmerian hordes that menaced him from without.

But Gyges soon discovered that the friendship of Nineveh was a burden rather than a gain. The Assyrian Empire was threatening to swallow up all the East. Elam, the last civilized kingdom of the old world which had held out, had finally fallen after a long struggle before the arms of the Assyrian generals, who had been aided by internal dissensions; and Ummanigash, its titular sovereign, was really little else than an Assyrian viceroy. But in 648 B. C. the blow was struck which eventually led to the overthrow of the whole empire. A general insurrection broke out, headed by Ashur-bani-pal's brother, the viceroy of Babylon. Elam, Babylonia, Arabia, and Palestine made common cause against the oppressor. Egypt had achieved her independence some twelve years before, and thus had no direct interest in the movement. Ashur-bani-pal's agents in Babylonia had doubtless forewarned him of the threatened insurrection there, but all such warnings seem to have been disregarded until the event actually took place. With great difficulty the revolt was crushed; Babylon and Cuthah were reduced by famine, and Shamash-shum-ukin burned himself to death in his palace. The wandering tribes of northern Arabia, Kedar, Zobah, Nabathæa, etc., were chastised, and fire and sword were carried through Elam. Ummanaldash, the last king of Elam, fled to the mountains, the ancient capital of Shushan was plundered and razed, and the whole of Susiana was reduced to a wilderness. Babylonia was thus avenged for its many invasions upon the country whence its civilization had originally come.

Its union with Assyria now became closer than before. Ashur-bani-pal would trust no more viceroys, but had himself crowned King of Babylon under the name of Kandalanu. He died in 626 B. C., leaving his kingdom to his son, Ashur-etil-ilani, who after a brief reign was succeeded by his brother, Sin-shar-ishkun, the Sarakos of Berosos and the last king of Assyria. On the death of Ashur-bani-pal, Nabopolassar, a Chaldean, made himself king of Babylon, though for some years his rule did not extend beyond the district immediately adjoining the city, and a considerable portion of Babylonia remained under Assyrian control. In the meantime the Aryan Medes had consolidated their scattered communities into a strong state, which constituted a formidable menace to the security of the Assyrian Empire. At last the storm broke. Toward

the close of the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun the Medes swept over Assyria, ravaged Mesopotamia, and laid siege to Nineveh itself. When at length the great city was carried by storm, Sin-shar-ishkun fell back upon his strong defenses at Calah and there sought to make a new stand. But fate was against him. An unusual rise of the Tigris undermined the wall, the Medes entered through the breach, and the city was sacked and burned. Thus in 606 B. C. the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun came to an end together with the last remnants of the monarchy he represented. Nabopolassar, though he took no direct part in the destruction of Nineveh, had throughout been an ally of the Medes, and he now received his reward. In the dismemberment of the Assyrian Empire, Assyria proper, with the northern provinces, fell to the share of the Medes, while Nabopolassar secured Mesopotamia and Syria.

Nabu-kudurri-usur or Nebuchadrezzar, Nabopolassar's eldest son, succeeded his father upon the throne of Babylon. The attempt of Pharaoh Necho to win for Egypt the inheritance of Assyria was overthrown at the battle of Carchemish, and when Nebuchadrezzar succeeded his father in 604 B. C. he found himself the undisputed lord of Western Asia. Palestine was coerced in 597, and the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 laid a way open for the invasion of Egypt, which took place twenty years later. Tyre also underwent a long siege of thirteen years, but it is doubtful whether it was taken, after all.

Babylon was now enriched with the spoils of foreign conquest. It owed as much to Nebuchadrezzar as Rome owed to Augustus. The buildings and walls with which it was adorned were worthy of the metropolis of the world. A triple line of mighty walls, of which the outermost was seven miles in length, rendered the city practically impregnable. On the site of the old royal residence a new palace, now represented by the Kasr mound, was built on a scale of great magnificence, and, between the northern end of the outer city wall and the river, where the mound Babil now stands, another palace was erected upon an artificial terrace nearly 100 feet in height. It was this latter palace, with the ornamental grounds surrounding it, that constituted the celebrated hanging gardens of Babylon. Esagila, the ancient temple of Marduk, was restored and richly adorned; the temple of the Seven Lights, dedicated to Nebo at Borsippa by an early king, who had raised it to a height of forty-two cubits, was completed; and many other temples were

erected on a sumptuous scale both in Babylon and in the neighboring cities. After a reign of forty-three years Nebuchadrezzar died (561 B. C.), and left the crown to his son, Evil-Merodach, who had a short and inactive reign of two years, when he was murdered by his brother-in-law Nergal-sharezer, the Neriglissar of the Greeks. Nergal-sharezer calls himself the son of Bel-shum-ishkun, "the wise prince"; he seems to have been Rab-mag at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3). His son, who succeeded him, was a mere boy, and was murdered after a brief reign of four months. The power now passed from the house of Nabopolassar—Nabu-na'id or Nabonidos, who was raised to the throne, being of another family. His reign lasted seventeen years and witnessed the end of the Babylonian Empire.

Recent discoveries have made us acquainted with the history of this event. Nabonidos found a new power rising among the mountains of Elam. Aryan settlers had made their way across the deserts of Sagartia, and penetrated as far as the rear of the Turanian population in Media and Susiana. Before the death of Nebuchadrezzar Media was completely Aryanized, and an Aryan tribe had established itself almost within sight of the Persian Gulf. This tribe subsequently became known under the name of Persian. After the overthrow of Elam by Assyria, and then of Assyria itself, there was nothing to bar its way to the occupation of the waste lands of Anzan in western Elam. Early in the reign of Nabonidos the King of Anzan was Cyrus, who claimed descent from the Aryan clan of the Akhæmenids.

Cyrus had the abilities and the will to found an empire. Media was the first point of attack, then Babylonia. The city of Ekbatana was the center of a loosely organized empire under the Scythian king, Astyages, who had conquered the Median Kyaxares and subjugated his country. The Medes and the Persians were essentially the same people, and Cyrus came forward as their deliverer from an alien rule.

But the elements of weakness in Babylonia were almost as great as those in Media. Nabonidos, by attempted religious innovations, had gained the ill will of a considerable party, which included the priests and aristocracy. A hostile people, the Jews, were planted in the very heart of the country, where, contrary to the experience and expectation of their conquerors, they had refused to amalgamate with the native population. The distant provinces

of the empire could not be depended on; that they were quiet was due rather to exhaustion than to fear or loyalty. In the sixth year of Nabonidos, 549 B. C., the Median monarchy fell. The army of Istuvegu or Astyages revolted against him while on the march against Cyrus, and gave him into the hands of his enemy. Ekbatana was captured and plundered by Cyrus, who spent the next few years in subduing the remains of the Median Empire and in extending his dominions in Asia Minor by the conquest of the powerful and extensive kingdom of Lydia. After the capture of Arbela, in 546 B. C., he overran what had once been the kingdom of Assyria, and made himself master of all Mesopotamia up to the Babylonian frontier. Meanwhile Nabonidos, with characteristic supineness, had been taking but scant measures to avert the coming attack, although the elaborate fortifications erected by Nebuchadrezzar were repaired, and an army under command of the king's son, Belchazzar, was dispatched to intercept the march of the Persians at the northern frontier. But the advance of Cyrus was delayed by other causes, and it was not until the year 538 that he actually invaded Babylonia.

The Chaldeans on the coast revolted, and in the month Tammuz, or June, Cyrus defeated the army of Nabonidos, and drove it southward before him. Immediately afterward the people of Accad, or possibly the Jews settled there, revolted; the Persians entered Sippara on the 14th of the month without fighting, and Nabonidos fled. Babylon opened its gates to the Persian general, Gobryas, and Nabonidos was captured. On the 3d of Marchesvan (October) Cyrus entered Babylon in triumph, and the Babylonian Empire was at an end. Nabonidos seems to have been kindly treated, and, according to Berosos, was made governor of Carmania, east of Persia. The Persian prince, however, adopted other means also for winning the favor of his new subjects. The temples were restored, the gods and their priests received large offerings, and Cyrus and his son, Kambyses, took part in the religious processions, and styled themselves the servants of the gods Merodach and Nebo.

The death of Kambyses inspired the Babylonians with the hope of recovering their independence. In 521 B. C. they revolted under Nadintu-Bel, the son of Aniru, who called himself Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidos. A portrait of him in the Greek style, and with a Greek helmet, is carved on a cameo in the Berlin Museum. But Darius overthrew the pretender in two battles at

Zazan, and pursued him into Babylon, which he closely besieged (November, 521 B. C.). The siege lasted nearly two years, but the Persians finally captured the city by diverting the Euphrates from its channel, and, after passing by night along the river-bed, entering it through an unguarded gate. It is this siege and capture which Herodotos transfers to the age of Cyrus. Once more, in 515 B. C., a new impostor arose, Arakhu, the son of the Armenian Khaldita. He too claimed to be Nebuchadrezzar II., and he too was taken and executed in Babylon after a short siege.

Chapter III

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

THE religion of ancient Babylonia was originally Shamanistic, like the religion of the Siberians or Samoyeds at the present day. Every object and force of nature was supposed to have its *zi* or spirit, who could be controlled by the magical exorcisms of the Shaman, or sorcerer-priest. These spirits were good or bad, like the objects and forces they represented, and like the latter, too, they were innumerable. Naturally the demons were supposed to outnumber the powers of good, and there was scarcely an action which did not risk demoniac possession. Diseases were all produced by their malevolence, and it was necessary to guard the house from them by placing at its entrance the figure of a cherub or some similar composite creature, which was regarded as a good genius. Even the dead were believed sometimes to revisit the earth and devour the living under the forms of vampires. Gradually, certian of these spirits, or rather deified forces of nature, were elevated above the rest into the position of gods, more especially Anu "the sky," En-lil "the earth" and "under world," and Ea "the deep." But old habits of thought were too strong to be resisted, and even these deities had each their *zi* attached to them.

It is not impossible that before the arrival of the Semites a sort of liturgy was already in the hands of the Sumerians, consisting of exorcisms and magical formulæ, interspersed with occasional hymns about the spirits or legends of their achievements, and ending with the words, "Be adjured, O spirit of heaven; be adjured, O spirit of earth." With the rise of a united monarchy, however, the gods began to assume importance and form themselves into a hierarchy. The worship of special deities had become associated with special cities; Ur was the city of the Moon-god, Larsa of the Sun-god, Babylon of Merodach; and the supremacy of a city implied the supremacy of the deity it worshiped. The kings vied with each other in erecting temples to these great divinities, whose vicegerents on earth they were, and those who were engaged in organizing men below at the same time organized the gods above.

The first monarch of all Chaldea of whom we know is also the first great temple builder.

It was when Sumerian religion had reached this stage that the Semite entered the land. Shamanism had developed into polytheism; the sorcerer had become the priest. Along with the change had gone an ever-increasing tendency to solar-worship. The sun and the daylight were the most potent powers of good that affected the early Chaldean, and when the spirits that were in nature became the gods of nature, the sun and the daylight were accordingly marked out for special adoration. The supreme deity of several of the great cities was the Sun-god under varying forms; Merodach of Babylon, for instance, was but "the solar brilliance," who, with the rise of Babylon, was elevated to a chief place in the Babylonian pantheon. But there was another cause which aided the growth of sun-worship. The age of political unification was also the age of the great outburst of national literature. Poets started up on all sides, and hymns innumerable were composed in honor of the new gods. In course of time these hymns were invested with a sacred character, and, like the Rig-Veda in India, were arranged in a collection which superseded the old collection of magical exorcisms as the inspired liturgy of Chaldea. It was to the sun, the great benefactor of mankind, that the majority of the hymns were addressed, and the attributes ascribed to the Sun-god, and the manifold names whereby he was invoked, became so many new solar divinities. These in turn passed into solar heroes, as the names given to them and the human actions recounted of them gave rise to legends and myths.

For a long time, however, the Sun-god had a formidable rival in the Moon-god. The Chaldeans were emphatically a people of astronomers and astrologers, the result of their early pastoral life on the mountains of Susiana, and the moon accordingly played the same part in their religion and mythology that the sun has done elsewhere. It is the Moon-god that stands at the head of the older pantheon; it was to him that the imperial city of Ur was dedicated; and in the hierarchical system of the priesthood the Moon-god was the father of the Sun-god. But the Semitic occupation of Babylonia turned the scale in favor of the latter. The Semites, the children of the desert, made the sun the center of their faith and worship; as Baal he was the Supreme Being, now giving life and light to his adorers, now scorching them with his fiery rays and demand-

ing the sacrifice of their nearest and dearest. As soon as the Semitic element in the population of Chaldea became strong, sun-worship began to absorb everything else. From the earliest times each male deity seems to have had his female consort, and in some cases more than one. These goddesses are usually mere shadowy reflections of their divine spouses, and, in consequence of their inferior position, there is a gradual tendency to reduce their number by assimilation until there was practically only one goddess, appearing under many forms. Thus the old divinities Ninni, Nana, and Anunit are all in course of time identified with Ishtar, and the name of the latter came to be the common appellation for "goddess" in general.

Long before the second millennium B. C. the work of fusing the religious ideas of the Sumerian and the Semite together was completed. The Semite borrowed the old Sumerian pantheon *en bloc,* classing the inferior gods among the three hundred spirits of heaven and the six hundred spirits of earth, and superadding his own religious conceptions and his own divinities. These were identified with the leading deities of the Chaldean creed; En-lil, for example, becoming Bel, and Utu, Shamash. But the great majority of deities were adopted without change of either name or attributes, though the names were in some cases slightly Semitized.

This process of syncretism went along with a curious development of astro-theology. The heavenly bodies, like all other objects in nature, had once had their special spirits; when this old phase of religion passed away the spirits were replaced by the gods of the new pantheon. The chief divinities were identified with the planets and other leading stars; the sun and moon were already provided for. The state religion of Babylonia thus became a strange mixture of worn-out Sumerian spirit worship, of the Semitized later Sumerian hierarchy of gods, of Semitic religious conceptions, and of astro-theology.

The state religion, once elaborated, underwent no material change. The places of the gods, indeed, were moved from time to time, as one city or another rose to preëminence; Ashur, the local deity of the old capital Asshur, being set at the head of the divine hierarchy in Assyria, and Merodach usurping the place of the older deities, when the supremacy of Babylon over the other cities of Sumer and Accad became firmly established. But the main outlines of the system remained unaltered. While the Sumerian sub-

structure, with its spirits and its exorcisms, faded more and more out of view, especially in Assyria,—while the religion of the Assyrian monarchs can be with difficulty distinguished from that of their Phœnician kindred,—the creed that was based upon it lasted to the end.

A time came, however, when the popular theology entered into the schools of philosophy. The gods were resolved into elements and abstractions, and it was taught that they and the universe alike had originated out of a chaos of waters. This system of cosmogony has been embodied in the poem of the Creation in seven days, which bears such a remarkable likeness to the first chapter of Genesis; from the prominent part played in it by Bel-Merodach it is evident that it must have originated in Babylon. The system of the poem agrees with the statements of Damascius the Neoplatonist, who tells us that Apason or Apsu, "the deep," and Mummu Tiamat (Moymis Tavthê), "the chaos of the sea," were the original principles out of which all things have been begotten. Of them were born Lakhmu and Lakhamu (Dakhos and Dakhe); of them again Aushar and Kishar (Assoros and Kissare), heaven and earth, who originated the three supreme gods, Anu, Bel, and Ea, the latter being the father of Bel-Merodach, the Demiurge. This theory of emanations was the source of later Gnostic speculation, while the philosophic explanation of the universe it embodied made its way into Ionia, and there started Greek speculative philosophy. Thales and his doctrines drew their ultimate inspiration from Babylonia.

According to the Babylonian legends the present κόσμος or regulated universe was preceded by an anarchical chaos, in which nature had made its first essays in creating. Composite creatures had been formed out of the earth and the deep, like those engraved on the gems and cylinders, or painted, according to Berosos, on the walls of the temple of Bel. There were men with the bodies of birds or the tails of fish, and human beings with birds' faces. The philosophy of Anaximander, which has been termed an anticipation of Darwinism, may be traced to this cosmological theory.

The after-life expected by the Babylonian was as dreary as that expected by the Greek. Hades was beneath the earth, a place of darkness and gloom, from which none might return, where the spirits of the dead flitted like bats, with dust alone for their food. Here the shadowy phantoms of the heroes of old time sate crowned, each on his throne (cp. Isaiah, xiv. 9), and in the midst

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rose the fortress-palace of Nin-kigal or Allat, the goddess of death. In the legend of the descent of Ishtar to the nether world in quest of her spouse Tammuz, the goddess passes through seven gates, guarded by as many warders who strip her of her dress and ornaments until, after passing the seventh gate, she stands naked in the presence of Allat. But even within the abode of Nin-kigal the waters of life bubbled up at the foot of the golden throne of the spirits of earth, and whosoever could drink of them might return to the upper world. A happier lot was reserved for a few. Xisuthros and his wife were translated for their piety to the blissful fields in the mysterious region "at the mouth of the rivers," and the hero slain in battle, if duly buried and cared for by his friends, lay upon a soft couch drinking pure water. But woe to him whose body lay unburied and whose funeral offerings were neglected; he was consumed with gnawing hunger, and was forced to eat the offal thrown into the streets.

But the fear of the evils that the demons were perpetually devising against him while alive must have made the life of the Babylonian almost intolerable. Every day and almost every hour had its religious ceremony, the neglect or malperformance of which brought down upon him some misfortune. In course of time magic became a science. An elaborate system of augury was gradually formed, and omens were drawn from every event that could possibly happen. Every temple had also its collection of exorcisms and incantations, the recital of which, accompanied by the proper symbolic acts, afforded protection against the malevolence of demons, sorcerers, and witches. These magical texts, of which vast numbers have been found, formed a distinct branch of the Assyro-Babylonian religious literature, and survived long after the fall of the Babylonian monarchy. The bronze bowls found by Sir A. H. Layard, as well as the part played by charms and demons in the Talmud, show how strongly the belief in magic had seized not only upon the native mind, but on that of the Jews also who had settled in the country. Through the Jews and various Gnostic systems of early Christianity, aided in part by the superstitions of imperial Rome, the belief found its way into the mediæval church, and the features of the mediæval devil may be traced in an Assyrian bas-relief which represents the dragon of Chaos, with claws, tail, horns, and wings, pursued by the Sun-god Merodach.

Babylonian mythology is a more pleasing subject than the

magic which made the Chaldeans famous in later days. The myths of Babylonia were rich and manifold, and their extensive circulation among the nations of antiquity is only beginning to be appreciated. Reference has already been made to some of them, and there are many that reappear under more or less changed forms in Jewish and Greek literature. We have learned at last how great was the debt owed by Greek mythology to the poets of ancient Babylonia, whose legends found their way to the west through the mouths of Phœnician traders. Adonis and Aphrodite are the Tammuz and Ishtar of Babylonian story; and the death of Adonis, and the descent of the goddess into Hades to search for him, formed the subject of Babylonian poems before the Greek perhaps had yet reached his future home. The theft of Prometheus has its analogue in the story of the god Zu, "the divine storm-bird," who stole the tablets of Bel, wherein destiny is written, and was punished for his crime by the father of the gods. Gilgamesh, originally a fire-god, and then a solar hero, is the prototype of Herakles. Ea-bani, the confidant and adviser of Gilgamesh, is the Centaur Kheiron, for Kheiron was the son of Kronos, and Kronos is identified by Berosos with Ea, the "creator" of Ea-bani. The lion slain by the Chaldean hero is the lion of Nemea; the winged bull made by Anu to revenge the slight suffered by Ishtar is the bull of Krete; the tyrant Khumbaba, slain by Gilgamesh in "the land of the pine trees, the sea of the gods, the sanctuary of the spirits," is the tyrant Geryon,[1] the gems borne by the trees of the forest beyond "the gateway of the sun" are the apples of the Hesperides; and the deadly sickness of Gilgamesh himself is but the fever caused by the poisoned tunic of Nessos. Even the encircling ocean, with its gates, where the women Sabitu and Siduri keep eternal watch, is the Oceanos of Homeric legend. Naturally the impress made by Babylonian mythology upon the western Semites was deeper than that which it made upon the Greeks. An echo of the war waged between Merodach and the powers of chaos and darkness, headed by the dragon of the sea, the seven-headed "serpent of night," still survives in the Apocalypse. The sacred tree, with its guardian cherubs, as well as the flaming sword of the lightning, with its fifty points and seven heads, recall biblical analogies; and the legend of the plague demon Dibbarra brings to our remembrance the vision of David when the angel of pestilence hovered over Jerusalem.

[1] Khumbaba appears as Kombabos in Lucian, "*De Dea Syria*," 19-26.

Chapter IV

ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE

THE art of Assyria was the copy and offspring of that of Babylonia. At the same time the copy was a free one, and in many points differed very materially from its model. The difference was caused in part by the want of stone in Babylonia and its abundance in Assyria. In Babylonia brick had to take the place of stone; stone, in fact, was costly, and used only for such objects as seals and signets, for boundary marks and royal statues. It is a curious illustration of the servile dependence of Assyria upon Babylonia in artistic matters, that up to the last brick was largely used there in the construction of the royal palaces, in spite of its rapid decay and the ease with which stone might have been procured. Slabs of alabaster were nevertheless employed to line the walls, and where, therefore, the Babylonians were forced to have recourse to painting, the Assyrians made a liberal use of sculpture in relief.

The existing remains of Babylonian and Assyrian architecture are further distinguished by the religious character of the one and the secular character of the other. The attention which was primarily devoted to the construction of temples in Babylonia was devoted to the construction of palaces in Assyria. The temple in Assyria was a mere appendage of the palace, whereas in the sister kingdom, while the only palaces of which we know are those of the dynasty of Nebuchadrezzar, the site of every great city is marked by the ruins of its temples. Hence the general style of architecture was different, the temple, with its huge masses of brickwork, rising stage upon stage, each brilliantly painted and surmounted by a chamber which was at once a shrine and an observatory, while the palace was built upon a heap of rubble, with open courts and imposing entrances, but never more than two or three stories high.

Columnar architecture had its natural home upon the banks of the Euphrates. Wood and brick had to take the place of stone,

and naturally suggested the employment of the column, which soon became a mere ornament and developed into a great variety of forms. Colored half-columns were used in the temple of Ur-Gur at Erech for decorative purposes long ages before they were employed in the same way by Sargon at Khorsabad, and it is perhaps to Babylonia and Assyria rather than to Egypt that we must trace the Doric and Ionic pillars of Greece. But the chasteness of Greek taste preserved it from the many fantastic forms into which the column branched out in Babylonia and Assyria, where we find it resting with a circular base on the backs of lions, dogs, and winged bulls.

While the column thus became an ornament rather than a support, the buttresses against which the early Chaldean temples rested never lost their original character. Like the walls, they were covered with plaster and painted with bright colors or overlaid with plates of shining metal. Enameled bricks, which were first painted, then glazed, and finally baked in the fire, were often used for the purpose; sometimes, as at Warka, we see cones of various colors and imbedded in plaster taking their place. The rain was carried off by elaborately constructed drains, some of which afford us the earliest examples of the arch, and which occasionally consisted of leaden pipes.

In Assyria sculpture was used in the stead of painting, although the bas-reliefs were judiciously picked out with red, blue, black, and white colors, none of which, however, were of the same brilliancy as the colors used in Babylonia. This use of color to heighten the effect of sculpture, which we find also in Egypt, was adopted by the Greeks, who probably derived it, with so many other elements of art, from the cultured populations of the Euphrates valley. Assyrian sculpture in relief may be said to have passed through three phases of development. The first phase, best represented by the reign of Ashur-nazir-pal, is characterized by a simplicity and vigor which shows itself especially in the drawing of animal forms. Nothing, for instance, can be bolder and more life-like than a scene in which the monarch is depicted hunting lions; but the freshness and freedom of the work are marred by an almost total want of perspective, an absence of delicacy in the execution, and a servile minuteness in reproducing the outlines. No attempt is made to fill in the background. The second phase lasts from the beginning of the Second Empire to the reign of Esarhaddon,

and was doubtless influenced by the delicate work in bronze and ivory executed by the Phœnician settlers in Nineveh. The care formerly expended on the chief figures is now extended to the background, which is finished with a pre-Raphaelite minuteness that reminds us of elaborate embroidery. What has been lost in vigor is gained in richness, though the realism of the work is too obtrusive to allow it to be examined with microscopic eyes. The reign of Ashur-bani-pal marks the third and best phase of Assyrian art in relief. Drawing has much improved, and the sculptures furnish several instances of successful foreshortening. The exactitude with which animal and vegetable forms are represented is relieved by a general softness of tone, while the overcrowding of the previous period is avoided by a recurrence to the earlier mode of leaving the background bare, or else by introducing merely the outlines of a landscape. Nevertheless, the art shows symptoms of the same effeminacy and decay that strike us also in the choice of subjects. Scenes are taken for the first time from the harem; and in contrast with the lion hunts of a former age in the open field, Ashur-bani-pal is made to enjoy the pleasures of a royal *battue,* where tame lions are let out of their cages and whipped into activity.

Admirable as the Assyrian artists were when they sculptured in relief, they failed altogether as soon as they came to the round. Here the artists of Babylonia much surpassed them. In Babylonia stone was too precious to be used for other than decorative or legal purposes, and the largest stones procurable were blocks of black basalt or diorite, which could be carved into statues, but not cut up into slabs. Statuary of a certain kind, therefore, flourished there from the earliest epoch. But it was always heavy, the figures being represented in a sitting posture, though much skill was shown in the delineation of the face. On the other hand, the carved gems are often very good, a spirit of humor and light-heartedness appearing in them which we look for in vain in Assyria. Gem-cutting, in fact, originated in Babylonia, and thence spread through the Western world. Though frequently rude, the very earliest intaglios are invariably clear and vigorous. Emery must have been used in their manufacture, and the work is sometimes extremely fine.

The Babylonians were also skilled in terra-cotta and bronze work. The terra-cotta and bronze images of King Gudea are

quite astonishing when we consider their antiquity. Spirited bas-reliefs in terra-cotta have been found at Senkereh, and many of the vases made by the ancient potters display great beauty of form, and must plainly have been modeled on the wheel, though the majority are handmade and rude. Assyrian pottery is also very good, but the native work in bronze is poor. The bronze gates of Balawat, for example, where the bas-reliefs have all been hammered out from behind and then chiseled, belong to the infancy of art, though the forms are bold and vigorous. The engraved bronze bowls and similar objects found at Nineveh were the work of Phœnicians.

Babylonia was celebrated from the first for the manufacture of textile fabrics, and the oldest gems furnish us with specimens of richly embroidered dresses. Goldsmiths' work, too, had already attained a high perfection at a very early period. At a later epoch the Assyrians equally excelled in metallurgy, and their bronze casts, as distinguished from hammer-work in relief, are of a high order of merit. Their gold earrings and bracelets are admirable both in design and in workmanship, and so well were they acquainted with the art of inlaying one metal with another that our modern artists have been content to learn from them the method of covering iron with bronze. Their chairs and other articles of household furniture are equally worthy of imitation. Besides porcelain, they were acquainted with glass, though transparent glass does not seem to have come into use before the age of Sargon. Colored glass was known at a much earlier date.

But the Assyrians had none of that love of brilliant colors which characterized their neighbors in the south. Though the introduction of vegetable forms into their bas-reliefs shows that their art was less intensely human than that of the Greeks, they were never led to cultivate the gardens for which Babylon was renowned. It was Babylonia, again, and not Assyria, that was famous for the manufacture of dyed and variegated stuffs.

Iron was little used in the earlier period. On the other hand, besides stone implements, bronze and copper weapons and tools were largely in use, and bronze bowls are found in nearly all the early tombs, fashioned sometimes with considerable skill.

Of Babylonian and Assyrian music little is known beyond the fact that there were different instruments for producing it.

The Assyro-Babylonian system of writing was the invention

of the Sumerians and was by them passed on to their Semitic conquerors, who modified and adapted it to the needs of their own language. It seems to have originated in a sort of rude pictography, like that employed by the American Indians, but long before the historical period the individual characters had been so conventionalized as to obscure the resemblance to the primitive pictography, and a combined ideographic and phonetic system had been developed. At a very early period the art of writing was extensively practiced, and was applied to the purposes of every day life. Clay was plentiful, and the writing paper of the ancient Babylonians was mostly of clay. The characters were impressed with a wooden stylus upon clay tablets (the *laterculæ coctiles* of Pliny), which were then baked in the sun, or, where greater durability was desired, in a kiln. Inscriptions were also frequently carved upon slabs of stone, stamped on bricks, or incised upon plates of metal, seals, gems, and other objects. In the earliest inscriptions the characters are made up of linear strokes, and there is no trace of the wedge-like element which later became so characteristic as to give its name to the system, causing it to be known as "cuneiform" or "wedge writing." This peculiarity, in fact, is by no means inherent in the system, but is due to the character of the writing material employed and to the form of the stylus. For practical reasons, the sharp corner of the stylus was used in writing and this, impressed in the soft clay, produced a wedge-like stroke.

The great abundance and cheapness of clay led to its general use for writing purposes, and thus the old linear characters, through the prevailing analogy, were in time entirely superseded by cuneiform characters, even in inscriptions sculptured upon stone where the same causes did not operate. When the Semites borrowed the Sumerian system of writing a great extension was given to the phonetic element, the sounds which expressed words in Sumerian becoming mere phonetic values in the Semitic syllabary. Hence the same character can denote more than one syllabic sound, and at the same time can be used ideographically.

Although Sumerian, after the Semitic conquest, was replaced in vernacular use by the tongue of the invaders, it continued to be employed as the sacred ritual language of the Babylonian temples down to the Macedonian period, and a knowledge of it was required of every priest. In order to facilitate its study syllabaries,

grammars, vocabularies, and reading books were drawn up in Sumerian and Semitic, and the old Sumerian texts were accompanied by interlinear translations, sometimes arranged in a parallel column. That great attention was bestowed upon the cultivation of the ancient tongue by the Babylonian priestly scholars is evidenced by the very large number of such texts that have been found. It is also clear that a considerable proportion of the Sumerian hymns and magical texts that have come down to us were composed in later times by writers who had acquired the language as a learned accomplishment, and whose Sumerian diction is strongly influenced by their own Semitic speech and environment. The language of such compositions has, in fact, been quite aptly compared to the corrupt Latinity of the medieval monks.

From the earliest period the literature of Chaldea was stored in the archive chambers of the temples, which served at the same time as repositories for deeds and other legal documents. Thus every great temple had its library, and the accumulation of literary treasures in these centers of learning must, in course of time, have attained very considerable proportions. The most famous of the Babylonian libraries were those of Erech, Larsa, and Ur, and (after the Semitic conquest) of Agade. The older library of Babylon perished for the most part when the town was destroyed by Sennacherib. Scribes were kept busily employed in copying and reëditing old texts, and more rarely in preparing new ones. The copies were made with scrupulous care, and an illegible character or word was denoted by the statement that there was a "lacuna," or a "recent lacuna," while attention was drawn to the breakage of a tablet. When an Assyrian scribe was in doubt as to the meaning of a character in his Babylonian copy, he either reproduced it or gave it two or more possible equivalents in the Assyrian syllabary.

The libraries established by the Assyrian kings at Asshur, Calah, and Nineveh were formed in imitation of those of Babylonia. Here, however, they were placed, not in the temples, but in the royal palace among the state archives. Ashur-bani-pal especially seems to have been a zealous patron of letters, and by his orders copies of ancient texts dealing with every department of literature were gathered from the principal temples of Babylonia. His library was discovered, in the ruins of his palace at Nineveh,

by Hormuzd Rassam in 1854, and from it more than twenty thousand tablets or portions of tablets were recovered and removed to the British Museum.

The literature contained in these libraries comprised every branch of learning known at the time. Historical and mythological documents; religious compositions; legal, geographical, astronomical, and astrological treatises; magical formulæ and omen tablets; poems, fables, and proverbs; grammatical and lexical disquisitions; lists of stones and trees, of birds and beasts, of tribute and eponyms; copies of treaties, of commercial transactions, of correspondence, of petitions to the king, of royal proclamations, and of dispatches from generals in the field—all were represented. The mythological and religious literature was particularly extensive and interesting. Along with the latter must be classed certain penitential hymns, which may favorably compare with the Hebrew psalms. Thus in one of them we read: "O my God, my transgression is great, my sins are many . . . I seek for help, but no one takes my hand; I weep, but no one comes to my side. I cry aloud, but no one hears me. Full of woe, I grovel in the dust and do not raise my eyes. To my merciful God I turn for help with sighs; the feet of my goddess I embrace with tears." Among the fables may be mentioned a dialogue between the ox and the horse, of which several copies exist, and an interesting tablet in the British Museum contains a small collection of riddles and proverbial sayings.

Folklore was more poorly represented than mythology, though some specimens of it have been preserved. It was the great epics and mythological poems, however, which naturally occupied the chief place in each library. A fragmentary catalogue of them has come down to us along with the reputed authors of these standard works. Thus the Epic of Gilgamesh was ascribed to a certain Sin-liki-unnini; the legend of Etana to Amel-Sin; the story of the fox to Ibni-Marduk, the son of Amel-mar-rubi. Among the works thus catalogued is the famous Epic of Gilgamesh, an ancient Babylonian hero who has been identified with the biblical Nimrod. The arrangement of the poem, in its present form, is based upon an astronomical principle, the subject-matter of each of its twelve books corresponding with the name of a zodiacal sign. The lion is slain, for instance, under the zodiacal Leo, the sign of Virgo answers to the wooing of the hero by Ishtar, and the sign of

Aquarius to the episode of the Deluge. Perhaps the most beautiful of these early legends is that which describes the descent of Ishtar into Hades in search of her husband, the Sun-god Tammuz, slain by the boar's tusk of winter. The legend curiously survives in a moral form in the Talmud, where Ishtar has been changed into the demon of lust.

Science was chiefly represented by astronomy, which had its first home in the plains of Chaldea. But it soon connected itself with the pseudo-science of astrology, the false assumption having been made that whatever event had been observed to follow a particular celestial phenomenon would recur if the phenomenon happened again. Observatories were established in all the chief towns, and astronomers-royal were appointed, who had to send regular reports to the king. At an early date the stars were grouped into constellations which were named from their fancied resemblance to various animals; the zodiacal signs had been mapped out while the vernal equinox still fell in Taurus; and eclipses of the sun and moon had been found to recur after a certain fixed time, and were consequently calculated and looked for. The equator was divided into degrees, sixty being the unit, as in other departments of mathematics. Lists of the fixed stars have been found in the library of Ashur-bani-pal, and fragments of a planisphere, which marks the appearance of the sky at the vernal equinox, are now in the British Museum.

The year was reckoned to consist of twelve lunar months of thirty days each, intercalary months being counted in by the priests when this was found necessary. The year began on the first day of the month Nisan, in the spring, and New Year's Day was celebrated as a high religious festival. The night was originally divided into three watches, but this was afterward superseded by the more accurate division of the day into twelve *casbu,* or "double hours," corresponding to the divisions of the equator, each *casbu* of two hours being further subdivided into sixty minutes, and these again into sixty seconds. Time was measured, at all events at a later epoch, by means of the clepsydra, and the gnomon or dial was a Babylonian invention. So also was the week of seven days, which was closely connected with the early astronomical studies of the Babylonians, the days of the week being dedicated to the moon, sun, and five planets. In a calendar of the intercalary month of Elul, the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days are desig-

nated as evil or unlucky. The introduction here of the 19th day does not really interrupt the evident connection of these unlucky days with the mystic number seven, since 19, added to the 30 days of the preceding month, gives 49, the square of seven and a number of special potency in magic and divination. On these days the king, as the representative of the people, was forbidden to eat food cooked with fire, to change his dress or wear white robes, to offer sacrifice, to ride in a chariot, to legislate, to practice augury, or even to use medicine. The month was further divided into two halves of fifteen days each, these being again subdivided into three periods of five days.

The standard work on astronomy and astrology was that in seventy-two books, of which the oldest portions may date from the time of Sargon of Agade, and entitled the observations of Bel. It was subsequently translated into Greek by Berosos. The table of contents shows that it treated of various matters—eclipses, comets, the pole star, the phases of Venus and Mars, the conjunction of the sun and moon, the changes of the weather, and the like. After each observation comes the event which was believed to have happened in connection with it, and the number of these observations shows for how long a period they must have been accumulating.

The attention given to astronomy presupposes a considerable advance in mathematics. This in fact was the case. The system of ciphers was a comparatively easy one to handle, and was simplified by the habit of understanding the multiple 60 in expressing high numbers—IV., for instance, denoting $4 \times 60 = 240$. Sixty was also the unexpressed denominator of a fraction, $1\ ^{2}/_{3}$ being represented by I.XL., *i. e.*, $1\ ^{40}/_{60}$. A tablet from the library of Larsa gives a table of squares and cubes correctly calculated from 1 to 60, and a series of geometrical figures used for augural purposes implies the existence of a Babylonian Euclid. Even the plan of an estate outside the gate at Zamama at Babylon, in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, has been discovered which shows no mean knowledge of surveying. Some acquaintance with mechanics is evidenced by the use of lever and pulley; the Assyrian sculptures depict the transportation of colossal statues, weighing many tons, on sledges drawn with ropes over wooden rollers; and Rassam, the Turkish Assyriologist, has discovered on the site of Babylon remains of the hydraulic machinery used for watering the hanging

gardens of Nebuchadrezzar. From the earliest times the healing art was cultivated in Babylonia, where it was regarded as a most important science. Portions of a number of medical works have been found, and it is evident that the literature of the subject must once have been very extensive. Surgery also was early practiced, and about 2250 B. C. Hammurabi found it necessary to introduce into his famous code special provisions for the discouragement of rash operations, and at the same time to establish a fee table.

The ideas of that primitive epoch, when as yet astronomy in its simplest form was unknown, survived in the popular mythology. The world was conceived as a great convex hemisphere, hollow within, and above it was spread the canopy of heaven conforming to its rounded outline. Both heaven and earth rested upon the Apsu or watery abyss, which also filled the hollow interior of the earth. Each of these divisions was ruled by a special deity; the heavens were under the dominion of Anu, the earth was the domain of Bel, while the Apsu was the realm of Ea, the god of the deep and the lord of unfathomable wisdom. Eclipses were caused by the war of the seven evil spirits or storm demons against the moon, and a long poem tells how Shamash and Ishtar fled to the upper heaven of Anu when the war began, and how Merodach had finally to come to the rescue of the troubled moon.

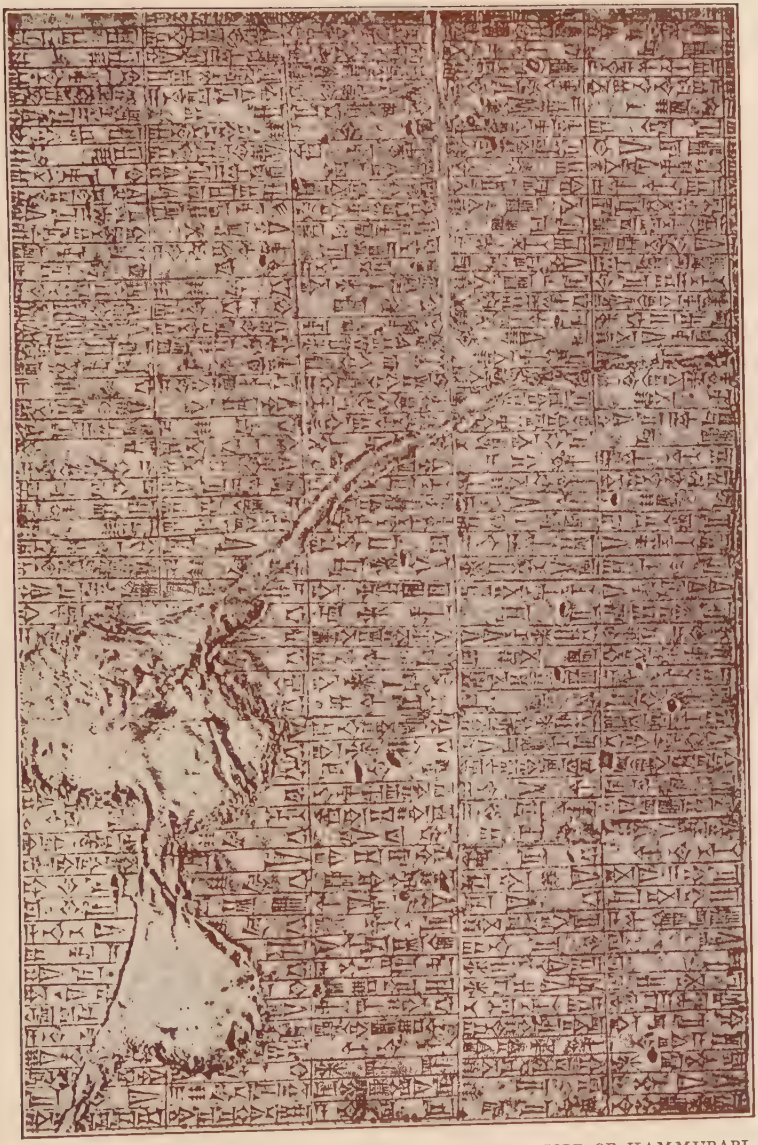
As already stated, the original Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia spoke a language of the agglutinative type, characterized by vowel harmony, the use of postpositions to indicate the cases of the noun, and the incorporation of the pronominal verbal object. It was formerly classed with the Turanian or Ural-Altaic family of speech, but this view has never been satisfactorily established, and it is now admitted that the linguistic affinities of Sumerian have yet to be discovered. The Semitic language known as Assyrian consisted of the two dialects, Babylonian and Assyrian, which differed chiefly in the pronunciation of certain consonants. The archaic and finished character of its grammar, and the fullness of its vocabulary, make it the Sanskrit of the Semitic tongues. The literary dialect underwent little change during the very long period that we can trace its career, the result being that it came to differ very considerably from the language of everyday life spoken at Nineveh or Babylon in later times. Aramaic became the *lingua franca* of trade and diplomacy after the overthrow of Tyre and Sidon under

the Second Assyrian Empire, and in course of time gradually superseded the older language of the country. In Babylonia, however, this did not happen until after the Persian conquest.

Law was highly developed in Chaldea from an early period, and a large number of the precedents of an Assyrian judge, like the titles on which he had to decide, went back to the Sumerian epoch, and the very ancient Sumerian family laws show us that the mother occupied a prominent place in the community. The oldest complete code of laws that has been preserved was formulated by Hammurabi about 2250 B. C., and continued to form the basis of Babylonian and Assyrian law down to the fall of both empires. This famous code embodied the needs of a settled community whose chief occupations were agriculture and commerce. The rights of persons and of property were clearly ascertained and carefully guarded. Crime was punished severely, especially where committed against religion or against the state. Class distinction was deeply rooted, and, in cases of injury, the penalty varied in accordance with the rank of the injured party. Marriage and the family were the subject of wise provisions. A Babylonian married woman was no mere chattel, but had very clearly defined rights which could not be set aside. Inheritance was regulated by special enactments, and the interests of widows and orphans were duly protected. The regulations affecting mercantile affairs show that the commerce of the country was highly developed, and that its merchants had extensive connections with other lands. Judges were appointed throughout the kingdom, and forbidden to accept bribes, while prisons were established in every town.

As in Attica, the boundaries of property were marked by *stelæ,* which often contain inscriptions yielding historical information of great value; and deeds were drawn up on tablets, often enclosed in an outer coating of clay, and registered in the principal temple of the neighborhood. These deeds were duly witnessed and sealed. Sennacherib has left behind a sort of will, in which he leaves certain property to his favorite son, Esarhaddon. The taxpayers were divided into burghers and aliens, some of the taxes being paid for the use of the public brickyards and roads. In the time of the Second Assyrian Empire municipal taxes and the tribute of subject states formed an important part of the imperial revenue.

Trade and commerce were the creation of the Semites, and



REPRODUCTION OF A PORTION OF THE TEXT OF THE CODE OF HAMMURABI, KING OF BABYLON, ABOUT 2250 B. C., FOUND AT SUSA, PERSIA, DECEMBER, 1901 —page 112

were particularly active in the later days of the Assyrian monarchy. The trade of Assyria was mainly overland—that of Babylonia may have been partly maritime. The teak found at Mugheir proves that it extended as far as India; on the other side wares came from the coasts and islands of Asia Minor, from Egypt, and from southern Arabia. Coined money, however, was as yet unknown, and the mina of Carchemish, after the capture of that city, was made the standard of weight. Houses were let on lease, and the deeds which conveyed them gave a careful inventory of their contents. A house sold at Nineveh on the 16th of Sivan, or May, 692 B. C., fetched one mina of silver, or forty-nine dollars, the average price of a slave. The records of the Egibi banking firm discovered in Babylonia extend from the reign of Nebuchadrezzar to that of Darius Hystaspis; the deeds were kept in large jars, and, like the Rothschilds of modern days, the firm increased its wealth by lending money to kings. The father generally took his sons into partnership during his lifetime.

Agriculture occupied a prominent place both in Babylonia and in Assyria. The Mesopotamia region, though rainless, is one of unusual fertility owing to the Tigris and Euphrates, which annually inundate the plain. This overflowing is as regular as that of the Nile in Egypt. Toward the Caspian Sea, however, the banks of the two rivers narrow and the inhabitants of the country early found it necessary to counteract the current by dams and irrigating canals and ditches. The canals were a matter of special importance, and their management was superintended by the state. Market gardeners might lease the ground of richer proprietors, and the tenant had to give one-third of the produce to the owner. The country was covered with gardens; Merodach-baladan has left us a list of no less than seventy-three belonging to himself. At an earlier date Tiglath-Pileser I., in imitation of the Babylonian princes, tried to acclimatize in royal botanical gardens some of the trees he had met with in his campaigns; but his example does not seem to have been followed.

Our knowledge of Assyro-Babylonian administration is too slight to allow us to say more of it than that the government was an absolute monarchy, the court consisting of a large number of officials who owed their rank to the king. After the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. the subject provinces were placed under satraps, the cities of the empire being governed by prefects. Besides the

turtanu (*turtan*), or commander in chief, who stood on the king's right, there were other military officers, such as the *rab shake* or general, the *rab kisir,* "colonel" or "major," "the captain of fifty," and "the captain of ten." Among the chief officials of state may be mentioned the vizier, the secretary of state, and the prefect of the palace. The sons of noble families were often placed at court as pages, and hosts of officials were attached to the personal service of the king. They included eunuchs, chamberlains, priests of various classes, astrologers, physicians, and musicians.

THE PHŒNICIANS

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Chapter I

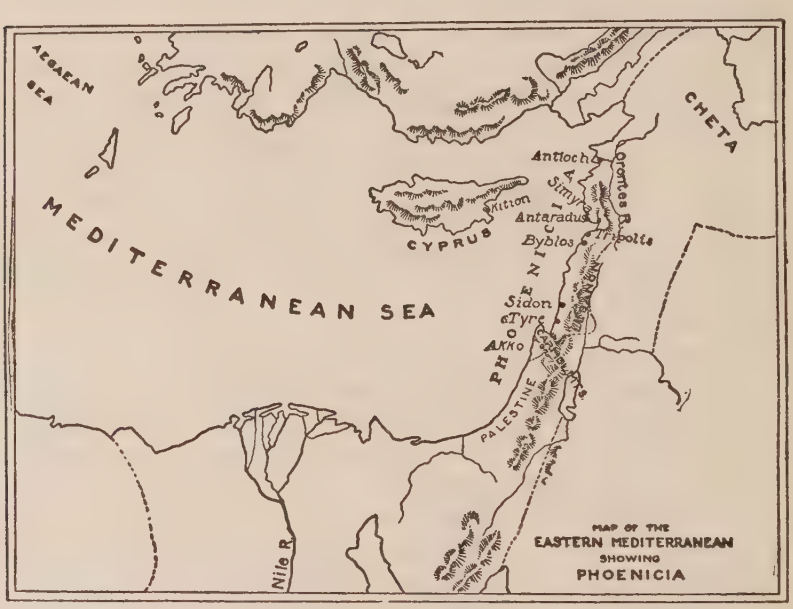
ETHNOLOGY AND HISTORY

ABOUT the middle of the third millennium B. C. the same wave of Semitic migration that placed the ancestors of Hammurabi upon the throne of Babylon established a kindred branch of the Semitic race on the western coast of Asia. A narrow, but fertile, strip of land, from 10 to 15 miles in breadth and 150 in length, shut in between the snow-clad peaks of Lebanon and the sea, and stretching from the Bay of Antioch to the promontory of Carmel, was the home of the Phœnicians. They called it Canaan, "the lowlands," a name which was afterward extended to denote the whole district of Palestine inhabited by kindred tribes.

According to Genesis, Sidon, "the fishing city," was the first-born of Canaan. Native legends, however, claimed an older foundation for the sacred city of Gebal or Byblos, northward of Beyrut. Beyrut itself, the Berytos of classical writers, was dependent on Gebal, and along with it formed a distinct territory in the midst of the Phœnician states. These consisted of nine chief cities, Akko (now Acre), Achzib or Ekdippa (now Zib), Tyre (now Sur), Sidon (now Saida), Botrys (now Batrun), Tripolis (now Tarabolus), Marathus (now Amrit), Arvad or Aradus and Antaradus (now Ruad and Tartus), and Ramantha or Laodikeia (now Ladakiyeh). With these may be counted Zemar or Simyra (now Sumra), to the north of Tripolis, inhabited by an independent tribe, like Arka (now Tel Arka). The country is watered by rivers, six of which were invested with divine attributes like the mountains from which they flowed. The Eleutheros (Nahr-el-Kebir) in the north is follow by the Adonis (Nahr-el-Ibrahim), by whose banks the women of Byblos lamented the dead Sun-God Tammuz; the Lykos (Nahr-el-Kelb), where Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian conquerors have erected their memorials; the Tamyras (Nahr-

Damur); the Bostrenos (Nahr-el-Awaly); and the Belos (Nahr-Naman).

With the mountains in their rear the inhabitants of the Phœnician cities were driven to the sea. They became fishermen, traders, and colonists. First Cyprus, called Kittim from the town of Kition, was colonized; then Rhodes, Thera, Melos, and other islands of the Ægean; then came the settlements on the coasts of Greece itself, in Sicily and Sardinia, and on the northern shores of Africa; and finally the colonies of Karteia, near Gibraltar, and Gades or Cadiz, which led the adventurous emigrants into the waters



of the unknown Atlantic. Karteia lay in the district of Tarshish or Tartessos, long the extreme western boundary both of Phœnician voyages and of the known world. But before the sixth century B. C. the Phœnicians had not only penetrated to the north-western coast of India, but probably to the island of Britain as well.

Tradition brought them originally from the Persian Gulf, and the similarity of name caused the island of Tylos or Tyros, now Bahrein, to be named as the country from which the forefathers of the Tyrians had come. The tradition pointed to a fact. The close

resemblance between the Phœnico-Hebrew and Assyro-Babylonian languages proves that the speakers of them must have lived together for some time after their separation from the rest of their Semitic kindred, as does also the common possession of such deities as Malik or Moloch, Baal or Bel, Adad or Rimmon, and Dagon. Most of the tribes comprehended under the title of Canaanites in the Old Testament were closely related to the Phœnicians, while the Hittites belonged to a different stock from the Semites. The Hebrews themselves, if we may trust the evidence of language, physiognomy, and character, though later arrivals in the land, had the same ancestors as the Phœnicians, and at the time of the conquest of Canaan only differed from the people they expelled in being rude nomads, instead of cultivated citizens. It is nevertheless possible that intermarriage with the aborigines of the country—a race of whom we know but little—had produced a modification of type and character among the natives of Phœnicia; but if so, the modification was not great. Toward the north the Phœnicians were affected by contact with their cousins, the Arameans or Syrians, who occupied Damascus and the southern coast of the Orontes.

Sidon and Tyre alike consisted of two towns. Those of Sidon were both on the mainland, and were known as the Less and the Greater; those of Tyre were distinguished as insular Tyre and Palætyros. Palætyros stood on the coast, and, if we may trust its name, was older than the city which occupied a double island at a little distance from the shore, and eventually claimed supremacy over it. But insular Tyre was of itself of early foundation, since the great temple of Baal Melkarth, the Phœnician Herakles, which rose on the eastern side of the smaller island, was built, as the priests told Herodotos, 2300 years before his time, or about 2750 B. C.; and the name Tyre itself—Tsor in Phœnician—denoted the "rock" on which the insular city stood. When it was visited by the Egyptian Mohar in the time of Ramses II. the water drunk by its inhabitants had all to be conveyed from the mainland in boats. Arvad or Aradus was similarly on an island, and held rule over the two cities of the neighboring coast, Marathos and Karne. Gebal had originally been built inland, on the northern bank of the Nahr-el-Kelb, before its inhabitants migrated to the shore.

For centuries before the settlement of the Phœnicians upon the Mediterranean coast the land had been under the dominion of Babylon. It formed part of the empire of Sargon of Agade, who

also conquered Cyprus and set up his royal image there, and, in the time of Hammurabi (about 2250 B. C.), it was still a Babylonian province. Through their long dependence upon the great metropolis of Western Asia, Phœnicia and Palestine were thoroughly imbued with Babylonian culture, and as late as the fourteenth century B. C. the Babylonian language and the Babylonian system of writing formed the medium of general intercourse among the peoples on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Phœnicians were an eminently receptive people. Like the rest of their Semitic brethren, they lacked originality, but they were gifted beyond most other races with the power of assimilating and combining, of adapting and improving on their models. Phœnician art derives its origin from Babylonia, from Egypt, and in later times from Assyria; but it knew how to combine together the elements it had received, and to return them, modified and improved, to the countries from which they had been borrowed. The Phœnicians were the most skillful workmen of the ancient world, and the empire of the Euphrates, which had first taught them the art of gem cutting, of pottery making, and of dyeing embroidery, was glad to learn in turn from its pupils. Already, in the age of Thothmes III., we see the Phœnicians on the walls of Rekhmara's tomb at Thebes bringing as tribute vases with animals' heads, similar to those found at Rhodes and Hissarlik, and clad in richly embroidered kilts. But the most precious acquisition of the Phœnicians was the alphabet, which they seem to have developed from the Babylonian script so long in use among them—all the incumbrances of the cuneiform system of writing being discarded by a people who possessed the practical habits of traders and merchants. Through the commercial relations of its inventors it found its way to Greece and was thence disseminated through the Western world.

The Phœnicians were the intermediaries of ancient civilization. It was they who inaugurated the trade of the West, and their trading voyages carried the art, the culture, and the knowledge they themselves possessed to the other nations of the Mediterranean. Modern research has abundantly confirmed the tradition embodied in the opening page of the history of Herodotos, that the chief elements of early Greek art and civilization came from Assyria through the hands of the Phœnicians.

But the influence of Phœnicia was exercised differently at different periods in its history. In the early period the influence was

indirect. It was brought by solitary traders, who trafficked in slaves, and above all in that purple fish which formed the staple of Phœnician wealth, and whose voyages were intermittent and private. This was the period of what we may call Babylonian culture. The conquests of the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty forced the trading communities of Phœnicia to pay tribute to the empire of the Nile, or at times to join in the efforts made to resist its further progress in Palestine; and the result was that Egyptian fashions found their way among them, and Phœnician art passed into its Egyptianizing phase. Meanwhile the population had been increasing along with wealth and prosperity, new regions had been explored by adventurous voyagers, and experiments in colonization had been made on the coasts of Cyprus and the Delta. The same mountain chain which had originally forced the inhabitants of Phœnicia to the sea now induced them to relieve the pressure of population by sending out organized colonies to conquer and possess the more distant lands of the West. Commercial marts were established in favorable positions; Thera and Melos, with their volcanic clay, became centers of Phœnician trade in pottery; the gold mines of Thasos were worked for Phœnician masters by Greek slaves; and the temple of Astarte rose on the southern headland of Cythera. But the Ægean was not to be the furthest bound of Phœnician colonization. Settlements were established on the coast of Africa, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and finally the columns of the Phœnician Herakles themselves were cleared, and the son of Phœnix led a colony to Gadeira, "the walled town," at the very limit of the setting sun.

The influence exercised by these colonies upon the still barbarous nations of the West was necessarily profound. The Assyrian character of early Greek art is due to its Phœnician inspiration. The pottery with which the sites of ancient cities like Mycenæ and Orkhomenos, or Kameiros in Rhodes, are strewn, was made by the Phœnician potters of Thera and Melos. The Greek alphabet, as the forms and names of its letters declare, was a Phœnician gift. Tradition ascribes it to Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, the son of Khna or Canaan, or, as other legends affirmed, of Agenor. His wife, Harmonia, seems to typify a Semitic divinity; and the serpent into which he was changed is the Serpent-god of Tyre, whose image is carved on one of the rocks of Thera. Cadmus himself was worshiped not at Thebes only, but at Sparta as well, just as

Melikertes, or Melkarth, remained the deity of the Corinthian Isthmus into the historic age. The sacred emblems of the Greek divinities—the myrtle, the pomegranate, and the olive—are plants that the Phœnicians must have brought with them; the rites with which Demeter Achæa was worshiped bear a Semitic stamp; and the attributes of the Hellenic Aphrodite are really those of the Assyrian Ishtar, the Phœnician Astarte. Astarte, too, is Europa, the daughter of Phœnix, brought to the continent to which she was to give a name by the bull-formed Phœnician Baal. The Babylonian prototype of the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis, the Phœnician Adonai, "lord," has been discovered; so also have the Babylonian Herakles and his twelve labors, as recounted in the great Epic of early Chaldea.

Under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty the Phœnician cities acknowledged the suzerainty of Egypt, and were content to pay their tribute in return for the settled order and the protection to their commerce afforded by the domination of a strong power. These advantages, however, they did not always obtain. The bitter contest of Amenophis IV. with the adherents of the orthodox religion prevented Egypt from giving due attention to her Syrian dependencies, and, as shown by the Amarna Letters, a state of affairs little better than anarchy prevailed in Palestine and Phœnicia. At this time Gebal, Beyrut, Sidon, Tyre, and Akko are independent of each other and are ruled each by its own prince. Arvad is in possession of a prince named Aziru, who seems to be extending his dominions toward the south, and Rib-Addi of Gebal appeals repeatedly to the Pharaoh for help against him, protesting that, unless he receives speedy reinforcements, he must flee for refuge to his neighbor, Ammunir of Beyrut. Farther south, Zimrida, King of Sidon, besieges Abimilki of Tyre on his island, and the latter writes that Usu or Palætyros is in the hands of the besiegers, and that he is reduced to all but desperate straits. On the death of Amenophis IV. Phœnicia was left to shift for herself and, without union and organization, fell readily under the dominion of the Hittites, who, in the meantime, had possessed themselves of the mountainous country to the rear. After the fall of the Hittite power the Assyrians became the controlling force in Western Asia, and, about 1100 B. C., Tiglath-Pileser I. is said to have made a voyage on the Mediterranean in ships of Arvad. This circumstance would indicate that northern Phœnicia, at least, recognized the supremacy

of the rising power; but the death of Tiglath-Pileser was followed by a period of Assyrian decline, and for a time the Phœnician cities were once more independent.

In the age of David, Tyre had become the leading city of Phœnicia. Hiram, the son of Abibaal, was the friend of both David and Solomon, who found an alliance with the wealthy trading community of Tyre at once profitable and honorable. Phœnician culture was introduced among the rude tribes of Israel, and the temple of Jerusalem was built by Phœnician artists, after the model of a Phœnician one. Even the two columns or cones at the entrance, the symbols of the Sun-god, as well as the brazen sea or reservoir, with the twelve solar bulls on which it rested, were reproduced in the Jewish sanctuary. The conquest of Edom had given David the possession of the Gulf of Akaba, and Tyrian commerce was accordingly able to sail down the Red Sea, hitherto the monopoly of the Egyptians, and find its way to Ophir, on the coast of Africa, in the modern Rhodesia. Insular Tyre was enlarged and strongly fortified, and the temples of Melkarth and Astarte beautified and restored. After a reign of thirty-four years Hiram died at the age of fifty-three. His grandson, Abd-Ashtoreth, was murdered by the sons of his nurse, the eldest of whom usurped the throne for twelve years. For a while the legitimate dynasty returned to power, but Pheles, a brother of Abd-Ashtoreth, was put to death by Ethbaal, the priest of Astarte, and with him the line of Hiram came to an end. Ethbaal had a long and prosperous reign of thirty-two years. His daughter Jezebel married the King of Israel, and attempted to break down the barrier of religion which separated that country from Phœnicia. But the first cloud of danger had already appeared on the horizon. Since the time of Ashur-bel-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I., the name of Assyria had not been heard in the West; now, however, Ashur-nazir-pal marched into the fastnesses of Lebanon, and in 870 B. C. the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad offered tribute. Arvad, indeed, almost more intimately connected with Syria than the other states further south, took part in the battle of Karkar against Shalmaneser in 854 B. C. The great-grandson of Ethbaal was Pygmalion, whose sovereignty in Cyprus caused his name to become familiar in Greek story. Seven years after his accession, at the age of sixteen, he murdered the regent, his uncle, Sichar-baal, a name corrupted into Akerbas and Sichæus by classical writers. His sister Elissa, the

wife of Sichar-baal, fled with other opponents of the new king, and found a home on the coast of Africa, not far from the old Phœnician settlement of Utica. The site they chose was named *Kartha khadasha,* "the new city," a name which has become famous under the form of Carthage. Legends soon gathered round the foundress of the city. She was identified with Dido, the title under which Astarte was worshiped as the consort of the fierce and cruel Moloch; while Anna, "the gracious," the name of Astarte as the giver of life and blessing, was made into her sister. Even the Bosrah or "citadel" of the new state, where a temple rose to Eshmun, was identified with the Greek *Βύρσα*, a "hide," and gave birth to the myth which told how Iarbas, the Lybian prince, had been cheated of his land by the ox-hide for which he sold it being cut into strips. Carthage was destined to take the place of Tyre as the mistress of the commerce of the Western seas, when the mother city had been ruined by Assyria. Pygmalion's reign lasted for forty-seven years, almost down to the period when Tyre and Sidon paid tribute to Adad-nirari III. When next we hear of Tyre it is under Hiram II., who sent tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III. at Arpad in 738 B. C., and is possibly the King Hiram mentioned on an ancient broken bronze vase found in Cyprus, and deciphered by Clermont-Ganneau. His successor, Matgenos II. (Metenna), revolted against Assyria, and was punished by a fine of 150 talents in 729 B. C. On his death the Sidonian prince, Elulæus or Luli, was raised to the Tyrian throne. According to Josephus, who quotes from Menander, the Tyrian annalist, he too rebelled against Assyria, and Shalmaneser IV. besieged Tyre unsuccessfully for five years, but no such event is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. In 701 B. C., however, Sennacherib captured both the Greater and Lesser Sidon, as well as Sarepta, Achzib, and Acre; and though he was unable to take Tyre, Elulæus fled to Cyprus, where he awaited a favorable opportunity to return. Tubaal or Ethbaal was made king of Sidon, and for a while Sidon became the leading state in Phœnicia. But the supremacy of Sidon was short-lived. Abd-Melkarth, its king, was misguided enough to ally himself with Sanduarri of Cilicia, and refuse the homage due to Esarhaddon. Sidon was captured and razed, its prince beheaded, and a new Sidon built, and stocked with a population brought from other parts of the Assyrian Empire. The tide of commerce now flowed again into Tyre, and though under Baal I. it joined the Egyptian revolt against Assyria toward the close of Esarhaddon's

reign, it was strong enough to defy all attempts to take it, and Ashur-bani-pal was glad to receive its submission on the easy condition of adding the daughters and nieces of its monarch to the harem at Nineveh. When Tyre again saw an enemy before its walls, it was the Chaldean army under Nebuchadrezzar. But the founder of the Babylonian Empire was no more successful than Ashur-bani-pal had been, though he joined the island to the mainland by a mole. After a siege of thirteen years, from 598 to 585 B. C., he consented to treat with the Tyrian king, Ethbaal, and was thus left free to turn his arms against Egypt. On the death of Ethbaal's successor royalty was abolished for a time, and the Tyrians elected suffetes or judges; but in 557 B. C. the old line of kings was again established in the person of Balator. The conquest of Cyprus by Amasis seems to have induced the Phœnicians to recognize the hegemony of Egypt, but with the rise of the Persian Empire they passed over to the new power. The Persians, however, who depended on Phœnicia for a fleet, allowed the Phœnician states to be still governed by their own kings, one of whom, Eshmunazar II., the son of Tabnith or Tennes, tells us on his sarcophagus that he ruled for fourteen years as "King of the Sidonians," and had built temples to Baal, Astoreth, and Eshmun, and been lord of the rich cornfields of Dor and Jaffa. The maritime experience of the Phœnicians made them indispensable to their Persian masters, and when they refused to attack Carthage, Kambyses was able neither to accomplish his expedition against that city nor to punish his refractory subjects. Their commercial empire, however, had long since departed. The Dorians had driven them from their possessions in the Greek waters, Ionic sailors and colonists had followed them to the Pillars of Herakles, the Etruscans had occupied their ports in the Tyrrhene Sea, and Assyria had ruined them at home. Their power passed to Carthage, which in time avenged them upon the Greeks. Sicily and Sardinia once more became Semitic, the Hellenic states in the former island with difficulty maintaining their ground against the admirals of Carthage; while the northern coast of Africa was rendered tributary, and a Carthaginian empire erected in Spain. But while the old strength and spirit of Phœnicia thus revived in its African colony, the last stronghold of native independence fell before the Greek conqueror Alexander. Tyre was besieged by the army that had just overthrown the Persians at Issos; the mole made by Nebuchadrezzar—and still to be seen on

the sandy flat which marks the ancient sea-bed between Palætyros and insular Tyre—was reconstructed, and in July, 332 B. C., the city, which had defied Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian, at last fell. Thirty thousand of its citizens were sold into slavery, thousands of others were massacred or crucified, and the wealth of the richest and most luxurious city of the world became the prey of an exasperated army. Its trade was inherited by its neighbor Sidon.

Chapter II

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

PHŒNICIAN religion was typically Semitic. It centered in the worship of the Sun-god, adored now as the beneficent giver of light and life, now as the stern god of fire and summer heat, who must be appeased by human sacrifice. Each aspect of the Sun-god had its own name, and became a separate divinity. By the side of each stood its reflection and double, that female power presupposed by all the operations of nature, as well as by the Semitic languages themselves, with their distinction between masculine and feminine. Baal, "the lord," therefore, must have his consort Baalath, "lady." But just as Baal was the common title given to the masculine deity in all his forms, so it was rather Ashtoreth than Baalath which was the common title given to the female deity. Ashtoreth was also identified with the moon, the pale consort of the diurnal sun, and, under the name of Astarte, was known to the Greeks as the goddess "with the crescent horns, to whose bright image nightly by the moon Sidonian maidens paid their vows and songs." Greek mythology, too, knew her as Io and Europa, and she was fitly symbolized by the cow whose horns resemble the supine lunar crescent as seen in the south. But it was as the female power of generation—as pale reflections of the Sun-god—that the manifold goddesses of the popular cult were included among the Ashtaroth or "Ashtoreths" by the side of the Baalim or "Baals." Ashtoreth must be carefully distinguished from Asherah, the goddess of fertility, symbolized by the *asherim*, "upright" cones of stone, or bare tree stems, which stood at the entrance of a Phœnician temple. Asherah was more particularly adored among the Canaanites of the south.

Baal-Samen, "the lord of heaven," called Agenor by the Greeks, was the supreme Baal of Phœnicia. But it was rather to Baal as the fierce and cruel Moloch or Milcom, the "king," that worship was specially paid. Moloch demanded the best and dearest that the worshiper could grant him, and the parent was required to offer his eldest or only son as a sacrifice, while the victim's cries

were drowned by the noise of drums and flutes. When Agathokles defeated the Carthaginians, the noblest of the citizens offered in expiation three hundred of their children to Baal-Moloch. In later times a ram (or hart) was substituted for the human offering, as we learn from the Phœnician tariffs of sacrifices found at Marseilles and Carthage. The priests scourged themselves or gashed their arms and breasts to win the favor of the god, and similar horrors were perpetrated in the name of Ashtoreth. To her, too, boys and maidens were burned, and young men made themselves eunuchs in her honor.

The two aspects of the Sun-god, the baneful and the beneficent, were united in Baal Melkarth, "the king of the city," the patron god of Tyre. Melkarth, Græcized into Melikertes and Makar, is a sure sign of Tyrian presence, and his temple at Tyre, where he was invoked as Baal Tsor, was the oldest building of the city. In his passage through the year Melkarth endured all those trials and adventures which Babylonian poets had told of their great solar hero, and which, under Phœnician tuition, the Greeks subsequently ascribed to their own Herakles. Herakles, in fact, is but the Tyrian Melkarth in a Greek dress, and the two pillars of rocks which guarded the approach to the ocean the Phœnicians had discovered in the West were rightly termed the columns of Herakles. The temples of Melkarth were said to have been without images, and no women, dogs, or swine were allowed within them. The fire that symbolized him burned perpetually on his altar, and, under the form of Baal-Khammam, he was worshiped as the great deity of solar heat which at once creates and destroys. At Carthage the goddess Tanith was his "face" or female reflection.

In early times the Sun-god was invoked as El, "god," or "exalted one," and El accordingly became a separate divinity. As El Shaddai he was the thunderer, as El Elyon "the most high god," of whom Melchizedek was priest. The rationalizing mythology of a later day told how El, the Kronos of Greece, was the founder of Gebal, the first of Phœnician cities; how, armed with iron sickle and lance, he had driven his father, Uranos (Baal-Samen), from the throne; how, in the thirty-second year of his reign, he had fertilized the streams by mutilating his sire; how he had thrown his brother Atlas (Atel, "the darkness") into the nether abyss; and how in the time of plague he had burned his

"only" son, Yeud, on the altar of Uranos, and circumcised himself and his companions. An important deity was Tammuz, whose name and worship had been carried to Gebal by the first Phœnician settlers. Under the title of Adonis (Adonai), "master," he was lamented by the women of Byblos in the month of July, when the Nahr-Ibrahim runs red with the earth washed down from the mountains.

The rivers themselves were worshiped, and, addressed as Baal, were merged into the Sun-god. Thus the Tamyras was adored as Baal-Tamar, called by Philo Zeus Demarus, the son of Uranos, who ruled over Phœnicia in the days of El along with Astarte and Adodos or Hadad, "the king of the gods." The mountains, too, were Baalim, the worship of the Sun-god on a mountain peak being transferred to the peak itself. On the two mounts Kasios, southward of Antioch, and again to the north of the Serbonian Lake on the African coast, rose the temples of Baal-Zephon, "Baal of the north"; elsewhere we find Baal-Gad, "Baal of good luck," Baal-Meon, Baal-Hazor, Baal-Perazim, Baal-Peor. Peniel, "the face of El," was a mountain deity, and according to Philo, the fourth divine generation consisted of the giants Kasios, Lebanon, and Hermon, after whom the mountains were named. But the titles and forms under which Baal was adored were not yet exhausted. Sometimes he was known as Baal-Shemesh, "the sun," sometimes as Baal-Zebub, the oracle god of "flies," the sun being imaged as a huge fly; at other times he was invoked by names as manifold as the local cults and individual caprices of the Canaanitish race. But the fact that it was everywhere the same deity, the same force of nature, that was worshiped, caused the popular polytheism to tend toward monotheism; the Baalim tended to become Baal, symbolized by a gilded bull.

There were, indeed, other deities recognized by the Phœnicians besides the Baalim and Ashtaroth, of whom, however, we know but little. Among these may be mentioned the Kabeiri, the makers of the world, the founders of civilization, and the inventors of ships and medicine. They were represented as dwarfs, the Greek word for which, *πυγμαῖοι*, was confounded with the name of the Phœnician god Pugm. The most famous of the Kabeiri was Eshmun, "the eighth," identified by the Greeks with their Asklepios, who carried snakes in his hands, and was restored to life by Astronoe or Ashtoreth Naamah, after he had mutilated himself

to escape her love. The Kabeiri were originally the seven planets, and M. J. Darmesteter has tried to show [1] that they are on the one side the "sons of God" of Genesis, and on the other the husbands of the Lemnian women, slain, according to the Greek story, by their wives. It is needless to mention other Phœnician deities, such as Sikkun and Mut, "death," of whom we know hardly more than the names.

The character of Phœnician religion and of the people who held it was at once impure and cruel. It reflected the sensualism of nature. Intoxicated with the frenzy of nature worship under the burning sky of the East, the Canaanite destroyed his children, maimed himself, or became the victim of consecrated lust. Men and women sought to win the favor of heaven by sodomy and prostitution, and every woman had to begin life by public prostitution in the temple of Astarte. The same practice seems to have been known in Babylonia.

Up to the last, customs that had originated in a primitive period of Semitic belief survived in Phœnician religion. Stones, more especially aerolites, as well as trees, were accounted sacred. The stones, after being consecrated by a libation of oil, were called *Βαίτυλοι*, or Beth-els, "habitations of God," and regarded as filled with the indwelling presence of the Deity. The Kaaba at Mecca is a curious relic of this old Semitic superstition, which is alluded to in the Gilgamesh Epic of Chaldea, and may have suggested the metaphor of a rock applied to the Deity in Hebrew poetry. Professor Robertson Smith, again, has pointed out that numerous traces of an early totemism lasted down into the historical period of the Semitic race, more especially among the ruder nomad tribes of Arabia.

Tribes were named each after its peculiar totem—an animal, plant, or heavenly body—which was worshiped by it and regarded as its protecting divinity. The division between clean and unclean animals arose out of this ancient totemism, the totem of a tribe being forbidden to it as food, or eaten only sacramentally. Exogamy and polyandry almost invariably accompany totemism, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find clear traces of both among the Semites. The member of one tribe was required to marry into another. Hence the same family with the same totem might exist in different tribes, and the ties of the totem relation were stronger than those of blood. David, for instance, belonged to the serpent

[1] "*Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*," IV. 2 (1880).

family, as is shown by the name of his ancestor Nahshon, and Professor Smith suggests that the brazen serpent found by Hezekiah in the Solomonic temple was the symbol of it. We find David and the family of Nahash, "or the serpent," the king of Ammon, on friendly terms even after the deadly war between Israel and Ammon that had resulted in the conquest and decimation of the latter.

One result of the absorbing Baal worship of Phœnicia, and the tendency to monotheism it produced, was the rationalizing of the old myths which took place in the Greek period. Euhemeros had his predecessors in Phœnicia; in fact, it was from Phœnicia that he probably derived the principles of his system. In the pages of Philo Byblius the gods become men, and the symbolic legends told of them are changed into human actions. At the same time, with the syncretic spirit of Phœnician art, the gods and myths of Syria, of Egypt, and of Greece are all fused together along with those of Phœnicia itself. Two systems of cosmogony are quoted from him, one of which probably belongs to the school of Byblos, the other that of Tyre. According to one of these, the wind or breath (Kolpia) brooded over the original chaos (Baau, *bohu*), and produced first Desire and then Mot, the watery element which underlies all things. Mot, in the form of an egg, generated the universe. Then came the first men, Æon and Protogenos. Their offspring were Genos (Cain) and Genea, who dwelt in Phœnicia and worshiped Baal-Samem. Next followed Phos, Pyr, and Phlox, the discoverers of fire; the giants Kasios, Libanos, Anti-libanos, and Hermon; and finally Samim-rum, "the most high," and Usoos (Esau). Samim-rum lived in Tyre, where he built huts and fought with Usoos, the inventor of ships and clothing made of the skins of wild beasts, who gave his name to the city Hosah. Among their descendants were Khusor, the first worker in iron, and his brother Meilikhios, the discoverer of fish-hooks, who together invented the art of brickmaking. Afterward came the husbandman Agrotes, Sydyk "the righteous," the father of the Kabeiri, and Uranos and Ge, the children of Elyon and Berytos. One of the sons of the latter was Dagon, the Corn-god, and Astarte was his sister. El, the son of Uranos, gave Byblos to Beltis, Berytos to the Sea-god, the Kabeiri, and the descendants of Agrotes and Halieus; while Egypt fell to Taautos, the Egyptian Thoth.

Chapter III

ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE

PHŒNICIAN art, as has been stated, was essentially catholic. It assimilated and combined the art of Babylonia, of Egypt, and of Assyria, superadding, perhaps, something of its own, and improving at the same time upon its models. It borrowed the rosette and palm leaf from Babylonia, the sphinx from Egypt, the cherub from Assyria, but gave to each a form and spirit of its own. Its gem cutters came to excel those of Chaldea, its artists in bronze and stone those of Assyria, while the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar aims at rivaling the massive coffins of Egypt. Its decorative art as well as the plan of its temples can best be learned from the construction and ornamentation of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. The carved gems and ivories and bronze bowls found at Nineveh, or the treasure discovered at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, are examples of Phœnician workmanship. Everywhere we have the same combination of Assyrian and Egyptian elements, of scenes copied now from Egyptian paintings, now from Assyrian bas-reliefs, sometimes mingled together, sometimes divided into separate zones. If we may listen to Clermont-Ganneau, the central medallion of the sculptured bowls gave the first idea of money; at any rate, we know that the bronze vessels of Phœnicia were frequently broken up for the purposes of exchange.

In the early art of Greece, and above all in the art of Cyprus, we may trace the outlines and spirit of the art of Phœnicia. We shall see hereafter, however, that Phœnician art was but one element in the art of primitive Greece, though it was the most important one; the other element being the art long supposed to be peculiar to Asia Minor, but now traceable to the Hittites. But this element was naturally weaker on the Grecian mainland, which owed even its alphabet to the Phœnicians, than in the islands. A bronze plate like that found at Olympia, the lowest compartment of which is occupied by a figure of the winged Astarte, or the pot-

tery of Mycenæ and other prehistoric sites, are the products of Phœnician rather than of Hellenic skill. The so-called Corinthian or Phœnico-Greek vases, with their quaint animal forms and Babylonian rosettes, belong to that transition period when Phœnician art was passing into Greek. The patterns upon them owe their inspiration to the embroidered dresses for which Thera was long famous. The earliest attempts at statuary in Greece are Assyro-Phœnician, as may be seen from the statues discovered by General di Cesnola at Golgoi in Cyprus, or the sitting figures disentombed at Brankhidæ by Newton; and it seems difficult to believe that the genius of Athens so soon transformed these stiff models of the Orient into the marvelous creations of a Phidias or a Praxiteles. But the art of Homer is still Phœnician in character; the shield of Achilles might have been wrought by one of the artists who have left us the bronze bowls of Nineveh.

In science Phœnicia inherited the discoveries and inventions of its neighbors. Glass, according to Pliny, had been an invention of the Phœnicians, but there is no proof of this statement, and it was certainly known to the Egyptians at a very early date. In the art of navigation, however, the Phœnicians no doubt made an independent advance. The *gaulos,* with its high rounded prow and stern, the fifty-oar galley, and "the ship of Tarshish," or merchantman, were the oldest of their vessels, and the Byblians were held to be the best shipbuilders, the men of Sidon and Arvad being the best rowers. It was at Carthage that a ship with more than three banks of oars was first built, and its pilots steered by the pole-star, not, like the Greeks, by the Great Bear. The Phœnician galley seems to have been the model of the Greek one. The renown of the Phœnicians as builders and carpenters implies their knowledge of mechanics and the use of the lever and pulley.

But their buildings have mostly perished, and so, too, has their literature. All that we possess are the scanty quotations, chiefly by Josephus, from the history of Tyre by Dios and Menander of Ephesos, who seem to have derived it from the native annals; references to Mokhos, Moskhos, or Okhos, who wrote on Phœnician history, and is made by Strabo, on the authority of Poseidonios, to have lived before the Trojan War, and started the atomic theory; and, above all, the fragments of Philo Byblius, who flourished in the second century B. C. and professed to have translated into Greek older works by Sanchuniathon and others on

Phœnician history and religion. Sanchuniathon (Sikkun-yitten) is said to have been one of a series of hierophants, among whom Thabion and Isiris may be named, and to have lived, like Mokhos, before the war of Troy. His works were based on the archives preserved in the temples, a book composed by Hierombaal or Jerubbaal in the days of Abelbaal, King of Berytos, and the sacred scriptures of Taautos and Eshmun. If, however, Sanchuniathon had any real existence, he must have written but shortly before the time of Philo himself, since the cosmogony and theology of the latter is wholly the product of a syncretic and rationalizing age. The works of Mokhos, as well as two other Phœnician writers, Hyksikrates and Theodotos (Sanchuniathon?), are said to have been translated into Greek by a certain Khaitos. It may be added that the Carthaginian general, Mago, was the author of twenty-eight books on agriculture, turned into Greek by Dionysios of Utica, and into Latin by Silanus; and Hanno of an account of his voyage along the west coast of Africa, in the course of which he fell in with a "savage people" called gorillas.

The government of the several states was a monarchy tempered by an oligarchy of wealth. The king seems to have been but the first among a body of ruling merchant princes and still more powerful and wealthy chiefs. In time the monarchy disappeared altogether, its place being supplied by suffetes or "judges," whose term of office lasted sometimes for a year, sometimes for more, sometimes even for life. At Carthage the suffetes were two in number, who were merely presidents of the senate of thirty. The power of the senate was subsequently checked by the creation of a board of one hundred and four, chosen by self-electing committees of five, to whom the judges, senate, and generals were alike accountable. By providing that no member of the board should hold office for two years running, Hannibal changed the government into a democracy. The colonies of Phœnicia were permitted to manage their own affairs so long as they paid tribute and supplied ships and soldiers to the mother city, though their inhabitants were allowed no rights or privileges in Phœnicia itself. Many of them, however, were wholly independent, governed by their own kings, and benefiting Phœnicia only in the way of trade.

The cities of Phœnicia were, in fact, the first trading commu-

nities the world had seen. Their power and wealth, and even their existence, depended on commerce. Their colonies were originally mere marts, and their voyages of discovery were undertaken in the interests of trade. The tin of Britain, the silver of Spain, the birds of the Canaries, the frankincense of Arabia, the pearls and ivories of India, all flowed into their harbors. But the purple trade was the staple of their industry. It was by the help of the murex or purple fish that they had first become prosperous, and when the coasts of Palestine could no longer supply sufficient purple for the demands of the world, they made their way in search of it to the coasts of Greece, of Sicily, and of Africa. The purple manufactories of Tyre must always have spoiled a traveler's enjoyment of the place. Slaves, too, formed part of Phœnician traffic from the earliest times, as also did pottery. Glass, which at a very early age we find being manufactured and exported by the Phœnicians, was a very important factor in their commercial activity.

The copper of Cyprus was their attraction to that island, and, mixed with the tin of Britain and the Caucasus, it became the bronze for which they were famous. In mining they excelled, and the gold mines of Thasos, where, according to Herodotos, they had "overturned a whole mountain," were worked before the thirteenth century B. C. Their woven and embroidered garments, dyed crimson and violet, were sent all over the then civilized world. The weights and measures they used were borrowed from Babylonia, and passed over to Greece along with the ancient Babylonian name of the *mina* or maund. At Carthage we hear of loans made from foreign states, and, along with bars of gold and silver, even of a token money, like our banknotes, which had no intrinsic value of its own. The revenues were derived chiefly from the customs, and were largely expended upon the mercenaries, who formed the bulk of the army.

The citizens themselves preferred to serve on shipboard. The commercial spirit thus dominated the people and withheld them from the development of military power. Historical monuments, which would have enabled us to fairly reconstruct the history of Phœnicia, are almost entirely lacking—a further indication of the absence of a strong national feeling—and the inscriptions found in the country itself and throughout the colonies and settlements made

by the Phœnicians are mainly mortuary or have to do with religion. The many prosperous cities were practically independent of each other and this lack of unity, added to the mercenary character of the military body, made the conquest by Assyria a comparatively simple matter. Even the religion of the Phœnicians showed by its eclectic character the natural consequences of their maritime situation and extended intercourse with foreign ports and nations of the interior of Asia.

HISTORY OF LYDIA

HISTORY OF LYDIA

Chapter I

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

LYDIA is the link that binds together the geography and history of Asia and Europe. It occupied the western extremity of that great peninsula of Asia Minor, 750 miles in length and 400 in breadth, which runs out from the mountains of Armenia and divides the nations of the north from the happier inhabitants of a southern clime. The broad plains of the Hermos and Kayster, in which the Lydian monarchy grew up, are the richest in Asia Minor, and the mountain chains by which they are girdled, while sufficiently high to protect them, form cool and bracing sites for cities, and are rich in minerals of various kinds. The bays of Smyrna and Ephesos formed incomparable harbors; here the products of the inland could be safely shipped and carried past the bridge of islands which spans the Ægean to the nations of the West. Asia Minor, naturally the richest of countries and blessed with an almost infinite diversity of climates, finds, as it were, in the ancient territory of Lydia the summing-up of its manifold perfections and characteristics. Rightly, therefore, did the loamy plain of the Kayster give its name of Asian [1] to the rest of the peninsula of which it formed the apex. This peninsula is cut in two by the Halys, which flows from that part of the Taurus range—the western spur of the Armenian mountains—which overlooks the eastern basin of the Mediterranean and forms the background of Cilicia. This geographical division had an influence on the ethnology of the country. As Asia Minor was but a prolongation of Armenia, so too, originally, its population was the same as that which in prehistoric days inhabited the Armenian plateau. Thence it spread westward and southward, down the slopes of the mountains, under the various names of Hittites, Moschi and Tibareni, Kommagenians, Kappadokians, and the like.

[1] Iliad, ii. 461.

We may term it Proto-Armenian, or Hittite, from the name of its best-known representative, and see in the Georgians its modern representatives, though doubtless the Circassians and other half-extinct races, which, before the Russian conquest, found a refuge in the fastnesses of the Caucasus, once had their share in populating the neighboring regions. But a time came when Aryan tribes forced their way into Asia along the shores of the Caspian, and passed partly southward into Media and Persia, partly westward into Armenia and Asia Minor. Another Aryan people sailed across the Hellespont from Thrace and occupied so large a tract of the country as to give their name to Phrygia. Other tribes again found their way across the Ægean from Greece itself, and under the general title of Ionians or "emigrants" established themselves on the more accessible parts of the western coast of Asia Minor, where they were joined in the later days of the Dorian conquest by other emigrants from their old home. The older settlers intermarried with the native population and formed in many districts a mixed race. If we might argue from language alone, we should infer that the Phrygians, Mysians, and Lydians were not only Aryans, but more closely allied to the Hellenic stock than any other members of the Aryan family, the Lykians and possibly the Karians alone belonging to the old population. But language can prove no more than social contact; it can give us but little clue to the race of the speakers; and other facts go to show that the Phrygians alone could claim a fairly pure Aryan ancestry, the Mysians and Lydians being essentially mixed. The Assyrian inscriptions make it clear that as late as the seventh century B. C. a non-Aryan population still possessed extensive territories in the neighborhood of Lake Van. It was only when the stream of emigration had brought the Aryan Medes into Media, and the Aryan Persians into Elam, that Aryans also forced their way into Armenia, changed the Namri of the Assyrian inscriptions into Aryan Kurds, and planted the colony of the Iron or Ossetes in the Caucasus itself.

The Proto-Armenian race has left memorials of itself in the monuments and inscriptions of Lake Van and its neighborhood. In the ninth century B. C. it borrowed the characters of the Assyrian syllabary, selecting those only which were needed to express the sounds of its language; and the line of monarchs that then ruled at Dhuspas, the modern Van, showed themselves to be

able administrators and good generals. Menuas, Argistis, and Sarduris II., all added to the kingdom, and brought the barbarous tribes of the north and east under their more civilized domination. The gods they worshiped were numerous: Khaldis, the supreme god; Teisbas, the Air-god; Ardinis, the Sun-god; and Selardis, the Moon-god, standing at the head. There were, in fact, as many Khaldises as there were local cults; and an inscription of Isbuinis, the father of Menuas, distinguishes four of them by name. The dress of the people consisted of a long fringed robe which reached to the ankles, or of a short tunic resembling that worn by the Greeks, over which an embroidered cloak was sometimes thrown. The short tunic was worn by the soldiers, whose helmets so closely resemble those of the Greeks as to confirm the statement of Herodotos that the Greeks derived the crests that adorned them from the Karians. A short dirk was slung in the belt, and the hands were armed with a small round shield and a long spear. The most peculiar part of the dress, however, were the boots with the ends turned up, such as are still worn by the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece. They indicate the cold and hilly region in which their inventors lived. The head was covered sometimes by a close-fitting cap, sometimes by a lofty tiara, sometimes by the Phrygian cap; and the double-headed ax which characterized the aboriginal populations of Asia Minor, and gave a name to Zeus Labrandeus, "Zeus with the double-headed ax," worshiped in Karia, was also used by them. The language of the Vannic inscriptions, as they are termed, may, like Georgian, be called inflectional, though it is neither Aryan nor Semitic. The language revealed by the bilingual inscriptions of Lykia is of the same character.

The most important branch of the Proto-Armenian race were the Hittites, who established themselves in the heart of the Semitic territory, and founded an empire which contended on equal terms with Egypt, and once extended its sway as far as the Ægean. They had, however, been preceded in their new settlements by another people of kindred race. At the time of the Amarna Letters, about 1400 B. C., Dushratta, King of Mitanni, ruled over a district embracing northern Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Balikh, and a part of northern Syria. His sister Gilukhepa was one of the wives of Amenophis III., and his daughter Tadukhepa was married to the heretic King Amenophis IV. A century or

more earlier the dominions of Mitanni probably extended as far south as the Lebanon Mountains, but in the reign of Dushratta the state was rapidly declining, and not long afterward it yielded to the rising power of Assyria. In the meantime the Hittites were pushing southward from their original home in Kappadokia and, in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, the weakness of Egypt enabled them to gain possession of all Syria as far as Mt. Hermon. Ramses II. waged a long and ineffectual war with them, and when peace was finally concluded, northern Syria and Phœnicia remained in the hands of his opponents. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was made between the contesting powers and was cemented by the marriage of Ramses with the daughter of the Hittite king. But the Semitic Anameans, migrating northward from the deserts of Arabia, gradually pushed back the Hittites and occupied their territory in Western Asia, while other Proto-Armenian peoples, pressing upon them from the north, completed their downfall. As late as the eighth century B. C. a Hittite state still maintained a quasi independence at Carchemish, the modern Jerablus, on the Euphrates, but in 717 the city was taken by Sargon, who put to death its king, Pisiris, and reduced the district to an Assyrian province. In the western part of Asia Minor the piratical Lukki, also of kin to the Hittites, established themselves as early as the fifteenth century, and gave their name to the districts of Lykia and Lykaonia. Of the same Proto-Armenian, or Hittite, race were the people of Kummukh, or Kommagene, the Kaski, the Moschi, and the Tabal or Tibareni, the last two peoples being known in the Old Testament as Meshech and Tubal. About 1100 B. C. the Kommagenians, who then occupied the former territory of Mitanni, were subjugated by Tiglath-Pileser I., and at the same time the Assyrian king drove back the Moschi, the Tabal, and the Kaski from the farther borders of Kommagene into the settlements later occupied by them in Asia Minor. Nearly four centuries later Sargon lent his support to the state of Tabal, between the Taurus Mountains and the River Halys, against a monarch whom he names, in his inscriptions, "Mita, King of Muski." But though the name of the Moschi was still applied to their settlements along the Halys, their dominions had sometime before passed to another people. Mita is the Midas of the Greek writers, and he ruled over the Aryan Phrygians, who, invading Asia Minor from Thrace, had conquered the Moschi and taken possession of

their territory. Their rule was not of long duration, for shortly after 700 B. C. the Kimmerian invasion swept over the land. Midas was slain, and his kingdom fell with him. In the troubled times that followed the Lydian Gyges built up his new kingdom upon the ruins of the Phrygian state.

The Hittite empire, while it lasted, had done much for civilization. The Hittites invented a system of hieroglyphic writing, in some respects resembling that of Egypt, and the art developed at Carchemish presents certain points of contact with the art of Babylonia and Egypt. This art, along with the accompanying culture and writing, was brought with them into Mesopotamia and Syria from their original home in Asia Minor. They have left their memorials in the sculptures of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk in Kappadokia, of Ivris in Lykaonia, of Ghiaur Kalessi in Phrygia, and of Karabel and "the Niobe" of Sipylos in Lydia. Hittite monuments, in fact, are found in every part of Asia Minor, but are especially frequent in Kappadokia, Cilicia, and northern Syria. The two figures at Karabel which Herodotos, after his visit to Egypt, imagined to be those of Sesostris, were really those of the bitterest enemies of Egypt, and the hieroglyphics which accompanied them were the hieroglyphics, not of Thebes, but of Carchemish. The monuments were erected as sign-posts to the travelers through the pass, and as witnesses that the power which carved them was mistress of Ephesos, of Smyrna, and of Sardes.

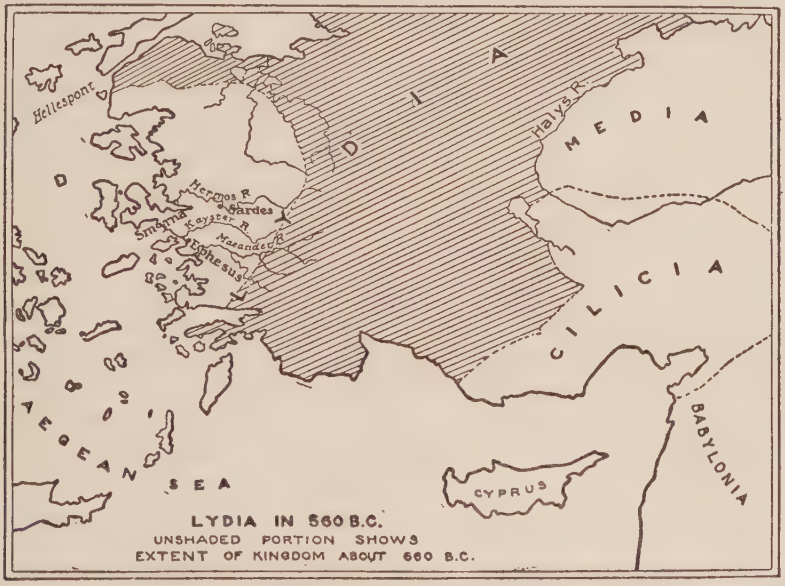
The legend reported by Herodotos which makes the founder of the Herakleid dynasty of Lydia the son of Ninos, and grandson of Belos, may possibly be an echo of the fact that Carchemish was called *Ninus Vetus,* "the old Nineveh," and that its culture had come from the land of Bel. At all events, the Herakles or Sandon who wedded Omphale, the daughter of Iardanos, and from whom the dynasty derived its name, is the Babylonian Sun-god, as modified by Hittite belief, Omphale being perhaps the Hittite name of the Asiatic goddess.

There were other legends which connected Lydia with the Euphrates; and these were supposed to point to an Assyrian conquest of the country before the Assyrian inscriptions themselves had told us that the Assyrians never passed west of the Halys, much less knew the name of Lydia, until the age of Ashur-bani-pal. The art and culture, the deities and rites, which Lydia owed to Babylonia were brought by the hands of the Hittites, and bore

upon them the Hittite stamp. It is with the Hittite period, so strangely recovered but the other day, that Lydian history begins. The legends of an earlier epoch given by the native historian Xanthos, according to the fragments of Nikolas of Damascus, are mere myths and fables. The first Lydian dynasty of Atyads was headed by Attys and the Moon-god Manes or Men, and included geographical personages like Lydos, Asios, and Meles, or such heroes of folklore as Kambletes, who devoured his wife, and Tylon, the son of Omphale, who was bitten by a snake, but restored to life by a marvelous herb. Here and there we come across faint reminiscences of the Hittite supremacy and the struggle which ended in its overthrow; Akiamos, the successor of the good king Alkimos, sent Askalos or Kayster, the brother of Tantalos, to conquer Syria; and Moxos (or Mopsos) marched into the same region, where he took Atargatis, the goddess of Carchemish, captive, and threw her into the sacred lake. It is probable that the Herakleidæ were at the outset the Hittite satraps of Sardes, whose power increased as that of the distant empire declined, and who finally made themselves independent rulers of the Lydian plain. According to Herodotos, Agron, called Agelaos by Apollodorus, Kleodaios or Lamos by Diodorus, was the first of the Herakleids, whose rule lasted for 505 years. Xanthos, however, was doubtless more correct in making Sadyattes and Lixos the successors of Tylon, the son of Omphale. The dynasty ended with Kandaules, the twenty-second prince. Gyges, called Gugu in the Assyrian inscriptions, put him to death, and established the dynasty of the Mermnadæ about 690 B. C.[2] The Lydians seem to have been of Hittite stock, and the empire of Gyges represents, in all probability, a return of the old race to political supremacy. Gyges extended the Lydian dominion as far as the Hellespont, though he was unsuccessful in his attempt to capture the Ionic port of Old Smyrna. Toward the middle of his reign, however, Lydia was overrun by the Kimmerians, the Gimirrai of the Assyrian texts, the Gomer of the Old Testament, who had been driven from their ancient seats by an invasion of Scythians, and thrown upon Asia Minor by the defeat they suffered at the hands of Esarhaddon on the northern frontier of the Assyrian Empire. The Greek colony of Sinope was sacked, and the fame of the barbarian hordes penetrated to Hellenic lands, where the redactor of the Odyssey, the Homer whom Theopompos and Euphorion make a contemporary of Gyges, spoke

[2] According to Eusebius, 698 B. C.

of them[3] as still in the misty region of the eastern Euxine. The lower town of Sardes itself was taken by the Kimmerians, who were mentioned by Kallinos, the Greek poet of Ephesos; and Gyges in his extremity turned to the power which alone had been able to inflict defeat on the barbarian hordes. Accordingly an embassy was sent to Ashur-bani-pal; Lydia consented to become the tributary of Assyria, and presents were made to the great king, including two Kimmerian chieftains whom Gyges had captured with his own hand. It was some time before an interpreter could be found for the ambassadors. The danger passed, and the Lydian king shook off his allegiance, aiding Egypt to do the same. But Assyria



LYDIA IN 560 B.C.
UNSHADED PORTION SHOWS EXTENT OF KINGDOM ABOUT 660 B.C.

was soon avenged. Once more the Kimmerians appeared before Sardes, Gyges was slain and beheaded in battle after a reign of thirty-eight years, and his son, Ardys II. again submitted to be the vassal of Sardanapallos. Upon this occasion Sardes seems to have fallen a second time into the hands of its enemies, an event alluded to by Callisthenes. Alyattes III., the grandson of Ardys, finally succeeded in extirpating the Kimmerian scourge, as well as in taking Smyrna, and thus providing his kingdom with a port. Lydia rapidly progressed in power and prosperity; its ships trafficked in all parts of the Ægean, and its kings sent offerings to

[3] Odyssey, xi. 12-19.

Delphi and affected to be Greek. It remained for Crœsus, however, the son of Alyattes, to carry out the policy first planned by Gyges, and make himself suzerain of the wealthy trading cities of Ionia. They were allowed to retain their own institutions and government on condition of recognizing the authority of the Lydian monarch, and paying customs and dues to the imperial exchequer. With the commerce of Ionia and the native treasures of Lydia alike at his command, Crœsus became the richest monarch of his age. He reigned alone only fifteen years, but he seems to have shared the royal power for several years previously with his father. All the nations of Asia Minor as far as the Halys owned his sway. He was on friendly terms with the states of Greece, with Babylonia, and with Media. In fact, Astyages of Media was his brother-in-law, his sister Aryenis having been married to Astyages in order to cement the treaty between Alyattes and Kyaxares, brought about (in 585 B. C.) after six years of fighting, by the kindly offices of the Babylonian king, and the intervention of the eclipse foretold by Thales. The Lydian Empire, however, did not long survive the fall of the Median Empire. Cyrus and Crœsus met in battle on the banks of the Halys about 547 B. C., and though the engagement was indecisive it was followed by a winter campaign of the Persians, which resulted in the defeat of the Lydians before they could summon their allies to their aid, and the capture of Sardes and its citadel. The vulnerable spot was believed to be where the legendary monarch Meles had failed to carry the lion, which was a symbol alike of Hittite and of Lydian power; but it was really the path made by one of those ever-recurring landslips which have reduced the crumbling sandstone cliff of the Acropolis to a mere shell, and threaten in a few years to obliterate all traces of the ancient citadel of the Lydian kings.

Chapter II

RELIGION AND CULTURE

THE religion of Lydia, as of the rest of Asia Minor, was profoundly influenced by that of Babylonia after the modification it had undergone at Carchemish. The Hittites had received the religious conceptions of Chaldea, along with the germs of art and culture, before the rise of Assyria; it is Babylonia, therefore, and not Assyria, that explains them. The Babylonian Nana became the goddess of Carchemish, where in the days of Semitic ascendency she was known as Atargatis and Derketo. The Babylonian Sun-god passed into Sandon of Cilicia and Lydia, the Baal-Tars or Baal of Tarsos of the Aramaic coins. Even the Chaldean story of the Deluge was transplanted to "the sacred city" of Carchemish, the ship becoming an ark, Xisuthros Sisythes, and the mountain of Nizir a pool in the neighborhood of the Euphrates. Thence the legend was passed on to Apamea, and possibly other towns of Asia Minor as well.

The form and worship of Atargatis were similarly carried westward. The terra-cotta images of Nana, which represent the goddess as nude, with the hands upon the breast, may be traced through Asia Minor into the islands of the Ægean, and even into Greece itself. Dr. Schliemann has found them at Hissarlik, where the "owl-headed" vases are adorned with representations of the same goddess, and they occur plentifully in Cyprus. At Carchemish they underwent two different modifications. Sometimes the goddess was provided with a conical cap and four wings, which branched out behind the back; sometimes she was robed in a long garment, with the *modius* or mural crown upon the head. Terra-cotta statues of her, discovered by Major di Cesnola in Cyprus, set under the mural crown a row of eagles, like the double-headed eagle which appears in the Hittite sculptures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk. At times the mural crown becomes the *polos,* as in the images disinterred at Mycenæ and Tanagra; at other times the

body of the deity takes the shape of a cone, or rather of the aerolite which symbolized her at Troy, at Ephesos, and elsewhere, while the surface is thickly covered with breasts. It was under this latter form, and with the mural crown upon the head, that the Hittite settlers in Ephesos represented the divinity they had brought with them. Here the bee was sacred to her, and her priestesses were called "bees," while the chief priest was ἐσσήν, "the king bee." The bee is similarly employed on Hittite gems, and a gem found near Aleppo represents Atargatis standing on the insect.

The Hittite priestesses who accompanied the worship of the goddess as it spread through Asia Minor were known to Greek legend as Amazons. The cities founded by Amazons—Ephesos, Smyrna, Kyme, Myrina, Priene, Pitane—were all of Hittite origin. In early art the Amazons are robed in Hittite costume and armed with the double-headed ax, and the dances they performed with shield and bow in honor of the goddess of war and love gave rise to the myths which saw in them a nation of woman warriors. The Thermodon, on whose banks the poets placed them, was in the neighborhood of the Hittite monuments of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, and at Komana in Kappadokia the goddess Ma was served by six thousand ministers.

By the side of Atargatis or Ma, the Ephesian Artemis, called also Kybele, Kybebe, and Amma, stood the Sun-god Attys or Agdistis, at once the son and bridegroom of the "great goddess" of Asia. Among the Phrygians he was named Papas or "father," and invoked as "the shepherd of the bright stars." Attys was symbolized by the fir tree into which he had been changed after mutilating himself to avoid the love of Kybele. He is, in fact, the Semitic Adonis; or rather, just as the old Hittite goddess assumed the attributes and functions of the Babylonian Nana, so, too, Attys took upon him the character of Tammuz or Adonis. The rites with which Ishtar and Tammuz had been worshiped at Babylon were transferred first to Carchemish and then to Asia Minor. The prostitution by which Atargatis was honored was paralleled by the mutilation and self-torture practiced in the name of Attys. His untimely death was mourned by women like the death of Tammuz, and his *galli* or priests were all eunuchs. At Pessinus, where each was termed an Attys, the chief priest had the title of *archigallos*.

But underneath these imported religious conceptions and rites lay the old nature-worship of the natives of Armenia and Asia Minor. The frenzy that marked the cult of Attys or of Zeus Sabazios in Phrygia, the wild dances, the wanderings in the pine woods, the use of cymbals and tamborines, the invention of which was ascribed to Asia Minor, were all of older date than the period of Babylonian and Semitic influence. The story of Apollo and the Phrygian flute-player Marsyas, the follower of Kybele, may imply that the Aryan occupation of Phrygia exorcised the wild and exciting spirit of the native music and of the worship to which it was consecrated. At any rate, as the language of the Phrygian inscriptions proves, the non-Aryan element in the population of that part of Asia Minor was reduced to insignificance, and the supreme god of the country became the Aryan Bagaios.

The close connection between Phrygia and Hellas is shown by the early mythology of Greece. Phrygian heroes like Gordios and Midas form as integral a part of Greek story as do the heroes and poets of Thrace. It is different with those other lands of Asia Minor which enter into Greek legend. The plain of Troy was rendered famous by the struggles made by the Achæan fugitives from the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesos to gain a foothold in Æolis; the immemorial story of the storming of the sky by the bright powers of day, which had been localized in Thebes, where Greeks and Phœnicians had contended for possession, being again localized by Achæan poets in the land of their adoption. Sarpedon, the Lykian hero, was celebrated in Ionic song, because Apollo Lykios, "the god of light," had been associated with the eastern hills behind which the light-bringing Sun-god rose each morning for the Hellenic settlers on the coast; and the tales that grew around the names of Tantalos and Pelops enshrined a real tradition of the day when Hittite culture and Lydian wealth came to the feudal lords of Mycenæ from the golden sands of the Paktolos.

Hittite art presents numerous points of contact with the art of early Babylonia, though the sphinxes at Eyuk, the Hittite form of the feroher or winged solar disk, and the scarabs found in the neighborhood of Aleppo, show that Egypt had also exercised an influence upon it. It was characterized by solidity, roundness, and work in relief. The mural crown was a Hittite invention, and the animal forms, in which the Hittite artists specially excelled,

were frequently combined to form composite creatures, among which may be mentioned the double-headed eagle, afterward adopted by the Seljukian sultans, and carried by the crusaders to the German states. This Hittite art is the source of the peculiar art of Asia Minor, which forms a well-marked element in that of primitive Greece. The famous sculpture at Mycenæ, over the gate to which it has given its name, finds its analogue in a similar heraldic sculpture above a rock tomb at Kumbet, in the valley of the Sangarios; and the tombs of Midas and other Phrygian kings in the same spot exhibit the architectural devices, the key pattern, and other kinds of ornamentation which we meet with in the early art of Greece. An archaic lion's head from Sardes, built into a wall at Akhmetlu, forms a link between the lions of Hittite sculpture on the one side and the lions found among the ruins of Mycenæ on the other. The lentoid gems, again, discovered in the islands of the Archipelago, in Crete, at the Heræon of Argos, and on other prehistoric sites, are all closely allied in artistic style to the Hittite carved stones which owe their inspiration to the archaic gems of Babylonia. Still more nearly Hittite in character are the engraved cylinders and seals of chalcedony, and similar stones, brought from Cyprus and from Lydia itself. Long supposed to be rude imitations of Phœnician workmanship, they now turn out to be engraved after Hittite models. It is possible that gold chatons of rings engraved in imitation of archaic Babylonian patterns, and found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, may have made their way into Argolis, not directly from the Babylonians at the time when Sargon of Agade carried his arms as far as Cyprus, but through the intervention of the Hittites, since the double-headed battle-ax of Asia Minor is introduced upon one of them, and a row of animals' heads in true Hittite style appears upon the other.

Greek tradition remembered that Karians as well as Phœnicians had brought the West the culture of the East. Karian tombs were discovered in Delos when the island was purified by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War.[1] The Greek helmet, a Karian gift, may be ultimately traced back to the warriors of Armenia, and the emblems of the shield to which Herodotos ascribes a Karian origin were possibly at the outset the hieroglyphics of Hittite writing. Dr. Köhler once wished to see in the rock tombs of Spata (perhaps the Attic deme of Sphettos), the rest-

[1] In the winter of 426 B.C. Thucydides, i. 8, iii 104.

ing-places of Karian dead; and though the discovery of similar remains in Rhodes, in the tomb of Menidi in Attica, at Mycenæ, and elsewhere, shows that the sepulchers themselves belonged to Greek natives, and that their contents mostly exhibit Phœnician influence and trade, yet there are certain objects, like an ivory human head crowned with the Hittite tiara, which refer us unmistakably to Asia Minor. The butterfly which occurs so plentifully at Mycenæ, and of which specimens, conventionally treated, may be seen on the glass ornaments of Menidi,[2] came more probably from Asia Minor than from Phœnicia. On the other hand, the gold masks with which the faces of the dead were covered seem to be of Phœnician derivation, since they were suggested by the gilded mummy faces of the Egyptians, who sometimes used gold masks besides, as is evidenced by the golden mask of Prince Khaem-Uas of the eightheenth dynasty, now in the Louvre; while the corpse of a child covered with a mask of gold has been disinterred at Arvad.

Silver was the metal which more especially attracted the Hittites. Their monuments in Asia Minor are chiefly in the neighborhood of silver mines, which they were the first to work. The Hittite copy of the treaty with Ramses II. was accompanied by a plate of silver, with a likeness of the god Sutekh in the middle, and an inscription running round it. A similar circular plate has been found, which apparently covered the handle of a dirk, with a figure of a king in the center, a Hittite inscription twice repeated on either side, and a cuneiform legend running round the rim. These circular silver disks, with an image in the middle, and an inscription surrounding it, very probably suggested the idea of coined money, which was primarily of silver, and the invention of which was ascribed to the Lydians. The practice of using silver as a writing material seems to have been general among the Hittite tribes. Renan has found niches cut in the rocks of Syria which would fit the written silver-plates of the Hittites as depicted on the monuments of Egypt, and the Hittite hieroglyphics are always carved in relief, even when the material is hard stone.

These hieroglyphics were of native invention, though some scholars believe that they may have been suggested by the sight of Egyptian writing. The Hittite races carried their writing with them into the farthest extremity of Asia Minor—one of the

[2] See *"Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi"* (1880), pl. iv. 12.

pseudo-Sesostris in the pass of Karabel having a Hittite inscription still legible upon it; and out of it, apparently, was formed a syllabary, which we may term Asianic. This syllabary was in use throughout Asia Minor before the introduction of the simpler Phœnician alphabet, and a local branch of it was employed in conservative Cyprus as late as the fourth or third century B. C. Elsewhere we find it only on objects discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the lower strata of Hissarlik, though certain characters belonging to it were retained in historical times in the various Asianic alphabets—Kappadokian, Mysian, Lydian, Lykian, Karian, Pamphylian, and Cilician—to express sounds not represented by the letters of the Ionic alphabet. As the latter alphabet still contained the digamma when it superseded the older syllabary, its adoption could not have been later than the middle of the seventh century B. C.

Lydian literature has wholly perished, though the fragments of the native historian, Xanthos, prove that annals had been kept for some generations at least previous to the accession of the Mermnadæ; and we may infer from the Babylonian character and coloring of the earliest Ionic philosophies that Lydian writers had already made the philosophic ideas of the far East familiar to their countrymen. It was for music and for gymnastic exercises that the Lydians were celebrated by the ancients, both developments in keeping with the somewhat sensual character usually attributed to them. But the Lydians, while pleasure-loving, were temperate and their banquets were commented on as models of good taste in contrast to the overburdened boards of the Thessalonians. The Lydians were fond of personal adornment, rich colors and textures. They approved heavily perfumed unguents and pomades, and the *baccaris* of Lydia was a celebrated compound with a heavy and overpowering odor.

Lydia was the industrial power of Asia Minor, and the spirit of enterprise may be counted as the clue to a comprehension of the nature of the Lydian people. Their reputation for wealth rested on this rather than on the known resources of the country. The prestige of Lydian merchants clung to them for centuries after the fall of Crœsus and the loss of his empire. They possessed a natural aptitude for commercial pursuits, and their cities were centers of activity and trade, and Herodotos credits them with being the first people to set up inns.

But just as the complexion of the Babylonian culture brought by the Hittites to the West differed from that brought by the Phœnicians in being carried overland by conquerors, and in therefore being more penetrating and permanent, so too the industrial character of the Lydians differed from that of the Phœnicians. Their trade was an inland, not a maritime, one. Sardes was the meeting-place of the caravans that journeyed from the interior along the two high-roads constructed by the Hittites—the one traversed by Crœsus when he marched against Cyrus, and leading by Ghiaur Kalessi and Ancyra to Boghaz Keui; the other, afterward used by Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, which ran southward through Lykaonia and Ikonion, and after passing through the Cilician Gates, joined the thoroughfare from Carchemish to Antioch and the bay of Scanderun. Unlike Phœnicia, moreover, Lydia was rich in its own resources. Gold, emery, and other minerals were dug out of its mountains; its plains were luxuriant beyond description; its hillsides clothed with thick forests. The policy of the Mermnadæ was to make their state the industrial center of East and West. The conquest of the Ionian cities which had succeeded to the commercial empire of the Phœnicians threw into their hands the trade of the Mediterranean, and Abydos was occupied by Gyges in order to command the entrance to the corn lands of the Euxine.

Phamphaes of Ephesos was the banker of Crœsus. In one sense a nation of shopkeepers, they did not barter in merchandise as the Phœnicians were wont to do, and the invention of coined money is to be credited to them, their custom being to imprint the rude ingot of the precious metal with the official stamp of the state, together with that of the king. The standard, as Barclay Head has shown, was the silver "mina of Carchemish," as the Assyrians called it, the Babylonian, as it was termed by the Greeks, which contained 8656 grains. This standard, originally derived by the Hittites from Babylonia, but modified by themselves, was passed on to the nations of Asia Minor during the epoch of Hittite conquest, and from them was received by Pheidon of Argos and the Greeks. The standard, it will be observed, was a silver, and not a gold one, silver being the favorite Hittite metal. Six small silver bars, each originally weighing the third part of the "Babylonian" mina, were discov-

ered by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, and the standard was that according to which the electron coins of Gyges were struck. Little by little, however, it was superseded by the heavier Phœnician mina of 11,225 grains, also, no doubt, primitively of Babylonian origin. Thrace, Lydia, and the western and southern coast of Asia Minor all adopted the new standard, and it was only in conservative Cyprus and on the neighboring shores of Cilicia that the old mina remained in use down to the age of Alexander the Great.

HISTORY OF PERSIA

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Chapter I

ETHNOLOGY AND HISTORY

PERSIA proper, roughly corresponding to the modern province of Farsistan, was comparatively a small district, about 450 miles in length by 250 in breadth. Eastward it touched on Kerman or Karamania, westward it was bounded by Susiana, southward by the Persian Gulf. Its inhabitants were Aryans, whose immigration into the country called after their name was not much earlier than the period of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The Assyrian inscriptions know little about them. Under leaders termed Akhæmenians (from *Hakhamanish,* "the friendly") the tribe of the Persians pushed its way into Anzan, a province of Elam, which had been destroyed and desolated by the armies of Ashur-bani-pal, and subsequently left a prey to the first invader by the decay of the Assyrian power. The tribe was but one out of many which had long been steadily advancing southward from the eastern shore of the Caspian. Mountains and deserts checked for a time their progress, but at length they spread over the vast districts of Baktria and Ariana, and a number of tribes, each under its own chief, reached the borders of Assyria and Elam. These tribes were known in later history as the Aryan Medes and Persians.

The Medes are first mentioned on the Assyrian monuments by Shalmaneser II. (835 B. C.) under the double name of Amadai and Madai, and placed in Matiene. Between them and the Namri of Kurdistan intervened the people of Parsuas, with their twenty-seven kings, or rather chieftains, who occupied the southwestern shore of Lake Urumiyeh. It has been doubted whether these Madai were really the Aryan Medes and not rather "Protomedes," allied in race and language to the Kossæans and Elamites, and this opinion is still maintained by some scholars. In view, however, of all the evidence, it seems more probable that the Madai of the Assyrian inscriptions were a genuine branch of the Aryan race, who gradually supplanted the non-Aryan population of Media and

eventually gave their name to the country. At first they dwelt, as described by Herodotos, in scattered communities under the rule of their clan chieftains, and this state of affairs certainly existed in the reign of Esarhaddon, who undertook an expedition to crush their growing power.

In the second half of the seventh century, however, there came a change. The scattered Aryan tribes of Media were united under a single monarchy by Uvakhshatara or Kyaxares. This prince, according to Herodotos, was the descendant of Deiokes, the builder of Ekbatana, a name which appears as Daiukku in the Assyrian records. One Daiukku, a chief of the Minni (on the western shore of Lake Urumiyeh) under their king, Ullusun, was transported to Hamath by Sargon in 715 B. C., and two or three years later the Assyrian monarch made an expedition to the three adjoining districts of Ellipi, Karalla, and Bit-Daiukku, "the house of Deiokes." Ellipi lay on the eastern frontier of Kurdistan, and included the land of Aranzi—a name preserved in the Orontes Mountains of classical geography, the Urvanda of the old Persians —where Ekbatana was afterward founded. Karalla intervened between the northern boundary of Ellipi and the southeastern shores of Lake Urumiyeh. It is just possible that the Median kings of Ktesias, Astibaras, and Artaios may represent (Rita or) Dalta, who was placed on the throne of Ellipi by Sargon in 709 B. C., and his son, Ispabara, who came into conflict with Sennacherib. In the year 610 B. C. Kyaxares, after thoroughly organizing his army, invaded Assyria and, defeating the Assyrians in the field, had actually invested Nineveh when the siege was raised by an army under command of Madyes, son of Protothyes, king of the Scythians. In 608, however, the Medes, having in the meantime signally defeated the Scythian forces, returned to the attack, and Nineveh fell after a two years' siege in the year 606. In the dismemberment of the Assyrian Empire which now followed, Kyaxares took for his share Assyria proper and the northern provinces, while his ally, Nabopolassar of Babylon, obtained Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. Kyaxares now proceeded to dispossess his Scythian neighbors and to extend his dominion in Asia Minor. Peace was established between him and Alyattes of Lydia in 585 B. C. through the kindly offices of his ally, Nebuchadrezzar, and the Halys made the boundary of the Median and Lydian Empires. Shortly after this the Median Empire of

Kyaxares was overthrown by Istuvegu, the Astyages of Greek writers, whom later Persian legends confounded with the tyrant Zohak or Azhidahaka, "the biting snake" of night and darkness, celebrated in ancient Aryan mythology. The contemporaneous Babylonian cylinder inscription of Nabonidos gives to Astyages the title of king of the barbarians, and is well worth quoting. Nabonidos first states that the "Temple of Rejoicing," the shrine

of the Moon-god at Harran, had been destroyed by the Umman manda, or "barbarian host," when they captured and ruined the city. Then he goes on to say: "At the beginning of my enduring reign, Merodach, the great lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and earth, both stood before me [in a dream]. Merodach said to me: 'O Nabonidos, King of Babylon, go up with the horses of thy chariot; fetch bricks, build the Temple of Rejoicing, and establish within it the abode of Sin, the great lord.' Reverently I said

to Merodach supreme among the gods: 'This temple which thou commandest [me] to build is encompassed by the Umman manda, and his forces are terrible.' Merodach answered me: 'The Umman manda of whom thou has spoken shall not exist, neither he nor his land, nor the kings his allies.' The third year thereafter they [the gods] brought against him Cyrus, King of Anzan, his petty vassal, who with his slender forces routed the numerous Umman manda, captured their king, Istuvegu, and took him a prisoner to his own land." After this Nabonidos carried out the will of the gods. His "vast army" was summoned from Gaza, on the one side, to the Persian Gulf on the other, and set to work to restore the temple of Harran, which had been built three centuries previously by the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., and subsequently repaired by Ashur-bani-pal. On his own cylinder, Cyrus, "King of Anzan," similarly declares that Merodach had made the Kurds of Gutium and the Manda or barbarians "bow down before his feet."

The classical historians connected Astyages by marriage with his conqueror Cyrus, but the discovery of contemporaneous records has proved their accounts to be so largely mixed with fable that it becomes unsafe to accept any statement not supported by monumental authority. Cyrus was the son of Kambyses, the son of Cyrus, the son of Teispes, who had been the first to establish the Persian rule in Anzan or western Elam, which extended from the district of Susa in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south.[1] Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who traces his descent through Arsames and Ariaramnes to Teispes, the son of Akhæmenes, probably refers to the same Teispes, and would therefore be justified in his claim to be of the royal race. It is even possible that while Cyrus I. and Kambyses I. were ruling in Anzan, Ariaramnes and Arsames governed an Aryan principality in Persis. At any rate Darius declares that eight of his race had been kings before him, and he lays special stress upon the fact of his relationship to Cyrus. Strabo[2] says that Cyrus was originally called Agradates, and took the name of Cyrus or Kuras from the river that flows past

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out that the learned Arabic writer, Ibn en-Nadim, "who had unusually good means of information as to genuine Persian traditions," ascribes the invention of Persian writing to Jemshid, the son of Vivenghan, who dwelt at Assan, one of the districts of Shushan (*Journal Royal Archæological Society*, xii. 1, Jan. 1880).

[2] Strabo, "Geography," xv. 3.

Pasargadæ; while Nikolaus Damascenus, doubtless quoting Ktesias, made him the son of the peasant Atradates, the Mithradates of Herodotos, whom he calls an Amardian. But such statements rest upon no solid ground and there is no reason to doubt that Cyrus was of genuine Aryan descent.

It was in 550 B. C. that Astyages was overthrown. On his march against Cyrus his own soldiers revolted against him and gave him into the hands of his enemy; "the land of Ekbatana and the royal city" were ravaged and plundered by the conqueror; and the Medes at once acknowledged the supremacy of Cyrus, whom they regarded as their liberator from the rule of an alien tyrant. Within the next three years the powerful kingdom of Lydia was subdued, Crœsus, its king, was captured in his capital, Sardes, and all Asia Minor was in the hands of the Persian conqueror. The date of Crœsus's fall is not quite certain, but it probably occurred in 547 B. C., and the following year Cyrus began his gradual advance upon Babylonia. Marching from Arbela, he crossed the Tigris, conquered Mesopotamia up to the Babylonian frontier, and appointed Gobryas governor of the province thus acquired. The course of events for the next few years is somewhat obscure, but it would seem that Cyrus was occupied in suppressing revolts in the more distant portions of his dominions, and in organizing his loosely cemented empire upon a more stable basis. There is reason to believe that during this time he also tampered with the disaffected element in the population of Babylonia, and so paved the way for an easy conquest.

The Jewish exiles were anxiously expecting him to redeem them from captivity, and the tribes on the seacoast were ready to welcome a new master. In 538 B. C. the blow was struck. The Persian army entered Babylonia from the north. The army of Nabonidos was defeated in June; on the 14th of that month Sippara opened its gates, and two days later Gobryas, the Persian general, marched into Babylon itself "without battle and fighting." The elaborate fortifications of Nebuchadrezzar had been in vain; traitors had worked on the side of the invader. In October Cyrus himself entered his new capital in triumph; priests and scribes alike strove to do him honor, and to account him as one of their native kings. The fall of Nabonidos was attributed to his neglect of the gods, and the politic Cyrus did his best to encourage the illusion by professing, along with his son Kambyses, to be a zealous

worshiper of the Babylonian deities. Their images were restored to their shrines with great state, the Persian monarch and his heir-apparent taking part in the solemn processions, and the new sovereign styled himself, like his predecessors, "the worshiper" and "servant" of Bel-Merodach and Nebo. It is probable that the ruler of western Elam had always been a polytheist. Zoroastrian monotheism was first made the state religion by Darius Hystaspes, before whose time looser religious notions seem to have prevailed. The excesses of Kambyses in Egypt were dictated not by religious fanaticism, but by political suspicion, as is proved by the inscriptions in which he avows his adherence to the old Egyptian creed. The stele which commemorates the death of the Apis bull, said by Herodotos to have been slain by Kambyses, shows that, on the contrary, it had died a natural death, had been buried under his auspices, and had monumental authority for accounting him one of its worshipers.

The fall of Babylon brought with it the submission of the tributary kings, including those of Phœnicia. If we may listen to Greek legend, Cyrus fell in battle with the wild Scythian tribes of the northeast. But the same myths that grew up around his birth and early history seem also to have gathered round his death. Just as Persian ballads fastened upon him the old story of the solar hero who is exposed to death in infancy, and after being saved by miracle, and brought up in obscurity, is finally discovered and restored to his high estate, so too the old lesson of the punishment of human pride and greatness was taught by the legend of his death. The woman warrior Tomyris was made to quell the great conqueror, and to throw his head into the bowl of human blood where he might drink his fill.

Before his death Cyrus had made his son Kambyses king of Babylon, reserving for himself the supreme title, "king of the world." His death occurred in 529 B. C., at least two years afterward. The first act of Kambyses, as sole ruler, was to murder his brother Bardes, the Smerdis of Herodotos, to whom his father had bequeathed a portion of the empire. Then followed the invasion and conquest of Egypt, and the distant expeditions against Ethiopia and the Oasis of Amon. The long absence of the monarch and the army soon produced its inevitable consequences. The loosely cemented empire began to fall to pieces. The Magian Gomates personated the murdered Bardes, and seized the throne.

Kambyses hastened homeward to punish the usurper, and seems to have marched as far as Syria when he slew himself in a sudden fit of insanity.

The reign of Gomates did not last a year. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, with six other Persian nobles, overthrew the usurper and slew him in Nisæa in Media, where he had taken refuge among his clansmen (521 B. C.). Zoroastrianism was made the religion of the empire, the temples which Gomates had destroyed were restored, and the noble families of Persia and Media which had been banished by the usurper were brought back from exile. If we may trust Dr. Oppert's rendering of a passage in the "Protomedic" transcript of the great Behistun Inscription, where Darius records the deeds and successes of his life, the Avesta or sacred book of Zoroastrianism, along with its commentary, was republished and promulgated throughout the empire.

The flight of Gomates was the signal for the massacre of all his followers and tribesmen who were left in Persia. The Magophonia long continued to be a popular festival in Persia, when it was unsafe for a Magian to venture out of doors. But the spirit of revolt was by no means extinguished. Immediately after the death of the pseudo-Bardes, Susiana and Babylonia alike shook off the Persian yoke. Under the leadership of Assina the Susians claimed again the freedom which Teispes had taken from them, and the extinction of the family of Cyrus seemed a favorable opportunity for recovering it. Babylon revolted under Nadintu-Bel, who called himself "Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidos," the last Babylonian king. But the Susian rebellion was soon put down. Babylon took longer to reduce. After defeating Nadintu-Bel at Zazan, Darius laid siege to the city. It was taken in June, 519 B. C., after a blockade of nearly two years, the Persians penetrating into the city during a festival by marching along the dry channel of the Euphrates. By this time, however, Media was in revolt under Phraortes, who called himself Khsathrita, the descendant of Kyaxares. Battle after battle was fought in Armenia by the Persian generals, until at last Phraortes was captured in Rhagæ and impaled.

It cost Darius some trouble yet to reconquer the empire of Cyrus. A second revolt, promptly suppressed, took place among the Susians, and a second one also among the Babylonians. This time it was an Armenian who professed to be Nebuchadrezzar, the

son of Nabonidos, but his career was soon closed by the capture of Babylon in 513 B. C. The Sagartians arose in unsuccessful insurrection under a leader who claimed to be a descendant of the Median Kyaxares, a proof that the Median Empire had once included Sagartia. As the Parthians and Hyrkanians had followed Phraortes, we may perhaps infer that Parthia and Hyrkania also had formed part of the old Median monarchy. A second pseudo-Bardes also had to be crushed; he was a native of Tarava, the modern Tarun in Luristan, but, though born in Aryan territory, was followed not by Persians, but by Susianians. He, too, was defeated and slain in Arachosia. Margiana, moreover, had risen in revolt, but as unsuccessfully as the other provinces of the empire. Darius was at last free to organize and settle what he had won back with so much difficulty and labor.

In the work of organization Darius proved himself a master. The empire was made a homogeneous whole, with its center at Susa or Shushan. For the first time in history centralization becomes a political fact. The king was the source of all authority and all dignities; every subject was equal before the throne, which was the fountain of law. It is true that a council, consisting of the seven leading families and a hereditary sub-nobility, sat without the will of the king; but this relic of a period when Persia had not yet become an empire had neither power nor influence against the bureaucracy which managed the government, and even the great king himself. The government of Persia became what the government of Turkey has been of late years—a highly centralized bureaucracy, the members of which owed their offices to an irresponsible despot. The centralization of Persia stands in marked contrast to the decentralization of Greece, as well as of the Aryan Medes themselves before the rise of the Median monarchy. The empire was divided into at least twenty satrapies,[3] communication being kept up between them by roads and posts which all met in Susa. Each satrap was responsible for a fixed tribute of from 170 to 1000 Euboic silver talents ($210,000 to $1,250,000), out of which the civil and military officers, the army, and the satrap himself were paid. It was of course the interest of the crown to prevent the provinces from being exhausted by additional taxation, but the satrap generally managed to squeeze a good deal more than the

[3] Darius mentions twenty-three at Behistun, twenty-nine on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustám.

fixed tribute out of his subjects. The satraps were like small kings; indeed their official residences were called palaces, and in some cases, as for example in Cilicia, the native princes were allowed to hold rule. The danger to the government caused by the power of the satrap and his distance from the central authority was diminished in several ways. Royal scribes or secretaries were employed to send up reports of the satraps and their actions to the king, and from time to time an officer came down from the court with an armed force to inspect a province. The satraps themselves were generally connected with the king by birth or marriage, and in Persia proper royal judges went on circuit at least once a year. According to Xenophon the control of the troops was further handed over to a separate commander, and it would seem that important fortresses like Sardes were also intrusted to an independent officer. Owing, however, to the weakness occasioned by this division of authority, the civil and military powers were united in the satrapies which bordered on dangerous enemies, such as the Greeks, and it was accordingly in these frontier satrapies that revolts like that of the younger Cyrus broke out. The districts of which a satrapy was composed were not always contiguous. The imperial exchequer received no less than 7740 talents, or $14,820,000, a year from nineteen of the provinces, which paid in silver, and of which Babylonia contributed the most, and 4680 Euboic talents, or $6,450,000, from the twentieth or Indian province, which paid in gold. The provinces had further to furnish tribute in kind, grain, sheep, and the like, and rates were levied in many places for the use of water and of the royal demesnes, while the taxes derived from such things as fisheries were farmed by the state. The gold and silver darics coined from the specie collected at Susa, and impressed with a rude representation of an archer, were remarkably pure, containing respectively 124 and 224 to 230 grains of pure metal.

While this work of organization was being completed the empire was at peace. Then came a war against Iskunka, the Sakian chief, succeeded by a campaign in the East. The Indus was first explored by a naval expedition under Skylax, a Karian Greek; this was followed by the conquest of the Punjab. Darius was now free to secure his northwestern frontier. The Scythian coast on the Black Sea was explored as the Indus had been, the Bosporus was bridged by Mandrokles the Samian, and the steppes of south-

ern Russia were swept by the Persian army. The impression left on the Scythian mind was never wiped out; the empire was henceforward safe on that side. Meanwhile Megabazas with another army had reduced Thrace, and made Macedonia a tributary kingdom.

Shortly afterward, in 501 B. C., came the Ionic revolt. Sardes was burned by the Athenians, and Darius, bent on vengeance, no longer delayed to listen to the exile Hippias, and to demand the submission of Athens and the restoration of its tyrant. Mardonios was sent against the offending city with a large army. But his fleet was wrecked off Mount Athos, and the land force surprised by the wild Thracian tribe of Briges. Two years later (in 490 B. C.) the Persian army under Datis was again hurled against Attica; but Athenian valor at Marathon drove back a power hitherto held invincible, and saved Greece. For three years Asia was now astir with preparations for crushing the handful of citizens that had dared to resist the mighty Persian Empire. Fortunately for Athens, Egypt revolted at the moment when the preparations were completed, in 487 B. C., and diverted the blow which would have fallen upon her. Before the revolt could be suppressed Darius died in the sixty-third year of his age and the thirty-sixth of his reign, 486 B. C.

His son and successor, Xerxes, born in the purple, was a different man from his father. Weak, vain, and luxurious, it need not surprise us that the huge and unwieldy host he led against Hellas returned shattered and discomfited, and that after the defeat of Mardonios with his picked Persian and Median troops at Platæa, the war that Persia carried into Europe should have recoiled back into Asia. The islands of the Ægean, the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, the wild coasts of Thrace, the command of the Hellespont, were one by one wrested from the great king by Athenian skill and enterprise. The sole result of the attempt to enslave Greece was to found the Athenian Empire, and to make Athens the intellectual and artistic leader of the world then and thereafter. Before the campaign against Greece had been entered upon Xerxes had punished the Babylonians for their murder of the satrap Zopyros by destroying the temple of Bel and the other shrines of the ancient gods.

Xerxes was murdered by two of his courtiers in 466 B. C., at the instigation, it was believed, of Amestris, the only wife he had

ever married. His third son, Artaxerxes I. Longimanus, had to win his way to the throne by crushing the Baktrians under his brother Hystaspes, and murdering another brother. In 455 B. C. an Egyptian revolt was put down after lasting for five years, and in 449 B. C. a treaty of peace, known as that of Kallias, was made between Persia and Athens—Athens agreeing to relinquish Cyprus, and Persia renouncing her claims to supremacy over the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Not long afterward Megabazas, the satrap of Syria, revolted, and extorted terms of peace from his suzerain, the first open sign of the inner decay of the empire.

Artaxerxes, who, like his father, had but one legitimate wife, Damaspia, was succeeded by his son Xerxes II., in 425 B. C., who was assassinated at a banquet forty-five days after by his illegitimate brother, Sekydianos or Sogdianos. Sogdianos was murdered in turn by Okhos, another bastard son of Artaxerxes, about six months later. Okhos took the name of Darius, and is known to history as Darius II. Nothos.

He had married his aunt Parysatis, daughter of Xerxes, and his reign of nineteen years was one long series of revolts, most of which were crushed mercilessly. The first was headed by his brother Arsites; then came those of Pissuthnes, the Lydian satrap, of Media, and of Egypt. The loss of Egypt, however, was compensated by the restoration of Persian authority over the Greeks of Asia Minor in consequence of the destruction of the Athenian power at Syracuse.

Darius II. was followed by his son, Artaxerxes II. Mnemon, in 405 B. C., in spite of the efforts of his wife Parysatis to substitute for the latter her younger and abler son, Cyrus. Four years later Cyrus left his satrapy in Asia Minor and marched against his brother with about 13,000 Greek mercenaries and 100,000 native troops. The battle of Cunaxa ended his life and his claim to the throne, and the retreat of the Greeks under Xenophon became one of the great feats of history. But the authority of the Persian king was gone in the West. Mysia, Pisidia, and Paphlagonia were all practically independent; Sparta protected the Greek colonies, and her forces under Derkyllidas and Agesilaos made themselves masters of Western Asia, from 399 to 395 B. C., and might have anticipated Alexander had not Persian gold sowed dissension at home. A league was formed between Persia, Athens, and other Greek states; the Long Walls were rebuilt at Athens

with Persian money, and Sparta was forced to sign the disgraceful Peace of Antalcidas, in 387 B. C., by which all Asia was restored to the great king. In 379 B. C. Evagoras of Salamis, who, with Egyptian and Athenian help, had made Cyprus and Cilicia independent and conquered Tyre, was finally crushed. But the decay of the empire could not be checked. The satraps of Phrygia and Kappadokia shook off their allegiance, and in 362 B. C. a general but unsuccessful revolt took place in Asia Minor and Syria. Three years later Artaxerxes died at the age of ninety-four, according to the doubtful statement of Plutarch. His son and successor, Okhos, had already caused the deaths of three of his brothers, and his first act on mounting the throne was to destroy, as far as he could, the other princes of the royal family. His attempt to recover Egypt failed, and Phœnicia and Cyprus declared themselves free. Idrieus, vassal king of Karia, however, reduced Cyprus. Sidon, the head of the Phœnician revolt, was destroyed, and Egypt reconquered by the Persian general, the eunuch Bagoas, and the able Greek admiral, Mentor, the Rhodian. For six years there was peace, thanks to Bagoas, who had become vizier, and Mentor, who was intrusted with the protection of the seaboard. But in 338 B. C. Okhos was poisoned by his vizier, who raised his son Arses to the throne, after murdering all his brothers. Two years afterward Arses and his children were assassinated, and Bagoas now placed the crown on the head of a personal friend, Codomannus, the son of Arsanes. Codomannus, who took the name of Darius III., was not of the royal family, according to Strabo, though this is contradicted by Diodorus. It was not long before he was called upon to contest his empire with Alexander of Macedon. In the spring of 334 B. C. Alexander crossed the Hellespont with a force of over 30,000 foot and between four and five thousand horse. In May the battle of the Graneikos placed Asia Minor at his feet. Memnon, the brother of the Rhodian Mentor, the only Persian general equal to the task of checking the Macedonian conqueror, died early in the following year, and Alexander was now free to advance into the heart of Persia. Darius and his army were well-nigh annihilated in the Pass of Issos on the Bay of Antioch (in November); his wife, mother, and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; Tyre and Gaza were besieged and captured; Egypt was occupied by the Greeks; and at the Oasis of Amon Alexander was hailed as the son of Zeus. At length, in

331 B. C., the decisive moment came. A new army had been collected by the Persian king from his eastern dominions, and was strongly posted about thirty miles from the site of Nineveh awaiting the attack of the Macedonians. The battle was fought in October at Gaugamela, twenty miles distant from Arbela, and ended with the total rout of the Persian host, the flight of Darius, and the fall of his empire. Alexander entered Babylon in triumph, assumed imperial pomp at Susa, where the spoils carried from Greece by Xerxes were discovered and sent back, and, if we may believe the current story, fired the royal palace of Persepolis in a fit of drunken insanity. Darius was then pursued, first to Ekbatana, next to Rhagæ and Baktria, where the hapless monarch was seized and finally murdered by the satrap Bessos. The reduction of the rest of the Persian Empire by Alexander quickly followed.

Chapter II

RELIGION AND CULTURE

THE religion of Persia was Zoroastrianism. But the nature and teaching of Zoroastrianism varied at different times and in different localities. The inscriptions make it plain that the Zoroastrianism of Darius and his successors was widely different from that of later times. The early populations of Media and Elam, dispossessed or overlaid by the Aryan invaders, had the same Shamanistic form of religion as the Sumerians of primitive Chaldea. They were grossly polytheistic, and the polytheism of Elam had in later days been largely affected by the religious beliefs and practices of Semitic Babylonia, more especially by the worship of Nana or Ishtar. On the other hand, the Iranian emigrants had monotheistic tendencies. The supreme god Ahuramazda, "the lord who gives knowledge," tended to absorb all the other deities of the original Aryan creed. The gods of Vedic nature-worship became his attributes and creatures. But this nature-worship had included evil powers as well as beneficent powers, light as well as darkness, pain as well as pleasure, the serpent as well as the Sun-god who slays him. Gradually the conflict between these opposites assumed a moral form in the minds of the Iranian wanderers; the struggle between night and day, between the storm and the blue sky, of which the Vedic poets sang, was transformed into a struggle between good and evil. In place of the careless nature-worshiper of the Punjab, a race of stern and earnest Puritans grew up among the deserts and rugged mountains of Ariana.

Darmesteter has tried to show that the transformation and development were natural. But the attempt is unsuccessful. Though there is much in Zoroastrianism (or Mazdeism) that is clearly a natural development out of the elements we find in Vedic religion—though the fundamental ideas upon which Mazdeism rests have grown out of the conceptions common to all the primitive Aryans alike—it is nevertheless impossible to explain the individual character that has been stamped upon it without assuming

the existence of an individual founder. We must accept the historical reality of Zoroaster or Spitama Zarathustra. Zoroastrianism implies a prophet as much as Mohammedanism.

According to the usual opinion, this prophet lived and taught in Baktriana. Zend, the language of the Avesta, the sacred book of Mazdeism, differs dialectically from the Old Persian spoken in Persia proper by Darius and his subjects, and is ordinarily believed to have been the language of Baktriana. Darmesteter, however, supposes the original home of Mazdeism to have been Atropatene; but as he further supposes that Mazdeism did not take its start here till the sixth century B. C., his views do not clash with the received theory which makes Baktriana the first seat of Zoroastrianism and of the language of its sacred books. Another theory has been started by De Harlez.[1] He makes Rhagæ (now Kaleh Erij) and Mouru or Meru the birthplace of the new creed in the seventh century B. C. But Rhagæ, again, under the shadow of Mount Demavend, only marks a stage in the western progress of the Iranian tribes; and the same Parsi legend which relates that the prophet was born in Rai or Rhagæ makes him teach his religion in Baktria at the court of King Vistasp.

A more important question, however, remains behind. The two scholars just mentioned not only think that Zend was the language of Aryan Media rather than of Baktria, but they also hold that Mazdeism itself, as embodied in the Avesta, was taught and promulgated by the Magi. In the revolt of the pseudo-Bardes Darmesteter sees not an uprising of the old non-Aryan faith, but an attempt to impose the peculiar tenets of the priestly tribe of Magians upon the rest of the people. The chief arguments in favor of this hypothesis are sought in the classical writers. Strabo describes the Magi as a sacerdotal caste spread over the land, and Herodotus[2] states that it was the Magi who practiced the peculiarly Mazdean duty of killing noxious animals, and required the corpse to be devoured by birds, not buried in the ground. But in Strabo's time the old distinctions between the Aryan and the non-Aryan portions of the population had been obliterated, and the Greeks had come to apply the term Magian indiscriminately to the various priests and sorcerers of the East; while, as is shown in the note

[1] See his exhaustive review of the subject in his "*Introduction à l'Étude de l'Avesta*," 1882.

[2] Strabo, xv. 14; Herodotos, i. 140.

upon the passage, the statement of Herodotos admits of another interpretation, and is corrected by his own description of the Magi elsewhere as a Median tribe, neither more nor less sacerdotal than the other five tribes mentioned along with them. Against these doubtful quotations we have the express testimony of Darius himself, engraved on the rock of Behistun, where he tells us that the Magian usurpation had destroyed the temples of his gods and the sacred hymns of the Zoroastrian faith.

According to Dr. Oppert the Behistun Inscription further informs us that the Avesta had existed before the days of the Magian revolt, and was restored by Darius after the revolt was suppressed. He would thus render a clause at the end of the inscription found only in the "Protomedic" transcript: "By the favor of Ormazd I have made elsewhere a collection of texts in the Aryan language, which formerly did not exist. And I have made a text of the law and a commentary on the law, and the prayer and the translations. And this was written, and I promulgated it; then I restored the ancient book in all countries, and the people followed it." The Persian equivalents of "the law" and "the prayer" are *abasta* and *zandi*, "Avesta" and "Zend." Whatever doubt may hang over the renderings of particular words, the general sense of this translation may be accepted; Darius claims to have restored the ancient writings that had been destroyed or injured by the Magian revolt. It is highly probable that both Cyrus and his son, as well as their predecessors, the kings of Anzan, had been almost equally responsible for the loss or neglect of the sacred books; and the fact that the people needed to be "taught" the law implies that among the Persians themselves a knowledge of the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism had been half forgotten. But the Avesta had not yet become a technical term. *Abasta* is rendered simply "law" and "laws" in the Elamite and Babylonian versions; it was the pious care of Darius which first gave it its fixed and restricted sense. His words seem to show that the Zend text was translated into the Old Persian of his western provinces.

We must not suppose, however, that the Avesta was completed at once, or that the beliefs and customs of the Sassanian age were familiar to the Persians in the age of the Akhæmenians. Darius speaks of other gods by the side of Ormazd; Ormazd is supreme among them; he has created them, like all things else; but nevertheless other gods also exist. Temples, too, are erected to him and

them, contrary to the later teaching of Mazdeism. The dead were buried, sometimes the living also, and there is no trace of those elaborate regulations in regard to purity which occupy so large a part of the Avesta, and must have been devised, as Bréal has shown, at a time when Mazdeism had ceased to be the religion of the state. In fact, the sacred literature of Zoroastrianism was a slow and gradual growth, like the sacred literatures of most other religions.

The five Gathas or "hymns," written in an older dialect than the rest of the Avesta, form the earliest portion of this literature. They are embodied in the Yasna, which, like the Visperad, is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice. Together with the Vendidad, a compilation of religious laws and mythical tales, the Yasna and Visperad make up the Avesta properly so called. By the side of this stands the Khorda Avesta or "Small Avesta," consisting of short prayers, and divided into the five Gah, the thirty formulæ of the Sirozah, the three Afrigan, and the six Nyayish. To these are generally added the Yashts or hymns of praise, and a number of fragments, of which the most important is the Hadhokht Nosk. The sacredness of the Avesta is to some extent reflected on certain literature written in Pehlevi or medieval Persian toward the end of the Sassanian period, among which may be named the Bundehesh, an exposition of Mazdean cosmogony and mythology. This sacred literature, however, is but a fragment of what once existed; according to Parsi tradition, the Vendidad is the only survivor of the twenty-one Nosks or books which formed the primitive Avesta revealed by Ormazd to Zoroaster, the eighteen Yashts were originally thirty in number, and the Bundehesh has many references which are not found in existing Zend texts. Hermippos[3] analyzed two million lines in the books of Zoroaster, and Pausanias heard Magian priests singing hymns from a book.[4] An old tradition which may be traced back to the Sassanian age asserts that the present Avesta consists of the fragments put together by the priests, partly from memory, after the destruction of the sacred books by Alexander the Great, and the Mohammedan conquest brought with it further injury and loss.

Dr. Oppert thinks that a reference to Angro-Mainyus, the evil spirit, is found in an inscription of Darius. However this may

[3] Pliny, Natural History, xxx. 1, 2; Diogenes Laertius, Procem. 8.
[4] Pausanias, v. 27, 3. Cp. Herodotos, i. 132.

be, it is pretty clear that the distinctive dualism of Zoroastrian doctrine was already fully developed in Akhæmenian times. The world was divided into the mutually hostile kingdoms of good and evil, though Ormazd (Ahuramazda) had originally created all things, and evil would therefore be again swallowed up in the kingdom of good. On the side of Ormazd and the faithful follower of his prophet stand the Ahuras or "living" spirits, called "gods" by Darius, and subsequently converted into the Yazatas (Izeds) or angels and the seven Amesha-Spentas (Amshashpands), "the undying and well-doing ones." These, originally identical with the Adityas of Hindu mythology, became the deified abstractions, Vohu-mano ("good thought"), Asha Vahishta ("excellent holiness"), Khshathra vaviya ("perfect sovereignty"), Spenta Armaiti ("divine piety"), Haurvatat ("health"), and Ameretat ("immortality"). But Armaiti had once been the goddess of earth, like Vayu, the Wind-god, who appears in the Gathas, Varena "the sky," and Mithra "the sun." From the first Varena had been identified with Ormazd, or rather Varena was the supreme being specially invoked as Ahuramazda, while Mithra became in time his material symbol. Under the Akhæmenian dynasty, however, the complete absorption of Mithra into Ormazd had not yet been effected; and though Darius shows no taint of Mithra-worship, his descendant Artaxerxes Mnemon, corrupted by Babylonian superstition, adopted the popular cult, and not only invoked the Sun-god Mithra, but even set up images to Anahit or Tanata, the Babylonian Nana, at Susa, at Persepolis, at Ekbatana, at Babylon, at Damascus, at Sardes, and at Baktra. The Mithraic worship of later days, which symbolized the passage of the sun into Taurus by the figure of a bull slain by a man, was the last survival of a faith that had once penetrated deeply into the minds of the people.

Angro-Mainyus (Ahriman), "the dark spirit," the opponent of Ormazd, was primitively the darkness of night and storm. The Devas, or "gods," who had assisted him in the old mythological combat between night and day, became the demons of Mazdeism, and some of the gods of light also were in time included among them. The archangels and angels of good were matched by those of evil. Ako-mano ("bad thought") opposes Vohu-mano ("good thought"), and with his companions, Sauru, the arrow of death, Indra, once the Rain-god of India, Naunhaithya (the Vedic Dios-

kuri), Tauru and Zairi, sickness and decay, form the council of the prince of darkness. Whatever Ormazd creates, Ahriman destroys. At the head of the army of Ormazd is the priest-god Sraosha (Serosh), who first offered sacrifice to Ahura and sang the holy hymns. Thrice each day and night he descends to smite Angro-Mainyus and his crew—the Kahvaredhas and Kahvaredhis, the Kayadhas and Kayadhis, the Zandas and Yatus, Aeshma ("the raving"), the leader of the Drvants, Drukhs, "destruction," Daivis, "deceit," and Drivis, "poverty." Sraosha dwelt in a palace of a thousand pillars, ornamented without by the stars, lit within by its own light, and reared on the peak of Elburz or Demavend, to which the Olympos of Sumerian and Protomedic mythology had been transferred. The legend had filtered into Mazdeism through a "Protomedic" channel.

The weapons with which the worshiper of Ormazd had to fight against his spiritual foes were prayer, sacrifice, purity, the sacrament of the Haoma, and various ceremonies, among which may be particularized the use of the *khrafsthraghna* or instrument for destroying noxious animals—the creation of Ahriman—and the *baresma* (*barsom*) or divining rod, which had played a large part in Sumerian religion, and must have been borrowed from the "Protomedic" part of the population. Sacrifice, which consisted partly of offerings, partly of prayers, aided the gods as well as men. The costliest victim was the horse, human sacrifices being ascribed to the Persians by Greek writers erroneously. The flesh of the victim was eaten by the priest and the worshipers; the "soul" of it only was enjoyed by Ormazd. The Haoma was the Soma of the Indians, an intoxicating plant which symbolized the powers of vegetable life, and the juice of which was drunk by the faithful for the benefit of themselves and the gods. Answering to the yellow haoma of earth is the white haoma of heaven, which will make men immortal on the day of resurrection. For the Zoroastrians believed in the immortality of the soul, and at least as early as the time of Theopompos[5] in a resurrection of the body. It was from them that Mohammed borrowed the notion of the narrow bridge (*chinvat peretu*) which the soul of the good passed safely by the help of Sraosha, while the wicked fell from it into the bottomless pit of Angro-Mainyus. Fire was from the first the sacred element; it was the material manifestation of Ormazd, and nothing was allowed to pollute it. At one time, no doubt, fire

[5] Diog. Laert. Procem. 9; Æn. Gaz. Dial. de anim. immort. p. 77.

itself was worshiped, like the primitive Aryan hearth on which it had originally blazed, the Atar, the Fire-god, held high rank among the Zoroastrians; but eventually it became the medium through which the worshiper approached his deity. Earth and water were also reverenced, and since a corpse would have defiled these sacred elements, it was left to be devoured by the beasts and birds. The dog was a sacred animal, perhaps because of his scavenger-like habits; but it is now difficult to explain the principles upon which certain animals were handed over to Ormazd and certain others to Ahriman.

The existence of the world was held to be limited. After twelve thousand years it was to end in winter or storm, to be followed by an eternal spring, when the earth would be repeopled by the risen bodies of the righteous. It is possible that this doctrine was taught as early as the time of Darius. But a later date must be assigned to the further conception of the final victory of good and absorption of evil into it. This conception led to the pure monotheism which believed that above and beyond both Ormazd and Ahriman there was one abiding principle, called by various sects, Space or Infinite Light or Fate or Zrvan-akarana, "boundless time." The early date, however, at which the belief grew up may be judged from the fact that Eudemos, the pupil of Aristotle, already makes time and space the first principles of the Magi.[6] But it is unknown to the greater part of the Avesta, from which we may infer the age of the latter. This is not the only instance in which we can assign a relative date to different portions of the sacred book. When the tenth Fargard or chapter of the Vendidad was written, and the nineteenth Yasht composed, the opposition between the six archangels and the six arch-fiends, mentioned in the Bundehesh and already found in Plutarch, was unknown, and, as Darmesteter says, "the stars were not yet members of the Ormazdean army when the bulk of the eighth Yasht was compiled." But the old opposition between the *athrava* or Mazdean priest and the *magus* or "Protomedic" sorcerer was already passing away; under the unifying influences of the Persian Empire Magian and priest became inextricably confounded; the Magian adopted the outlines of the Zoroastrian faith, and in later days hardened them into a system of sacerdotal laws and lifeless ceremonies; while the priest took over the beliefs of the older population, modifying and altering them in the process. Thus, as Lenormant has

[6] Ap. Damascium, ed. Kopp 384.

XERXES WATCHES THE PROGRESS OF THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS FROM THE PROMONTORY OF ABYDOS AND VIEWS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS FLEET

Painting by A. Zick

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shown, the spirits of the Shamanistic cult of Sumer and Elam were changed into the fravashis or fervers of Mazdeism, the genii which correspond with all created things, and watch over the servants of Ormazd.

A rich mythology was associated with the religion of Zoroaster. The cosmogony of his followers and the successive creations of Ormazd, the places, possibly, occupied by the Iranians in their westward migration, may be read in the Bundehesh and the first Fargard of the Vendidad. The paradise of the Aryan races was laid in Airyanem vaejo, between the Oxus and Jaxartes, where they were ruled in the golden age by Yima, the son of Vivanghvat —called Yama, son of Vivasvat, in the Veda—the first man, the lord of the departed, originally the evening darkness. In the Shahnameh of Firdusi, the great epic of medieval Persia, Yima became Jemshid. But the sovereign light, the *hwareno,* was carried off from Yima Khshaeta, "the shining Yima," by the three-headed serpent of night, Azhi-dahaka, the biting snake, the tyrant Zohak of Firdusi's epic. Thraetaona, the son of Athwyo, was the chosen hero who subdued the monster, and whom the Shahnameh has changed into Feridun. Born in the "four-cornered Varena" or heaven, he is the Vedic Traitana or Trita Aptya, "the dawn, the son of the waters," whose name reappears in the Homeric epithet of Athena, *τριτογένεια.* The serpent was bound to the highest peak of Demavend, not to be loosed till the end of the world, when he will be slain by Keresaspa, the Gershasp of Firdusi, the Krishashva of Hindu legend. Keresaspa has already killed other monstrous creations of Ahriman, Shravara, the Greek Kerberos, among them, and his reign restored the glory of that of Yima. When Azhi-dahaka is finally slain, a son, Saoshyant, will be born to Zoroaster who will bring eternal life and light to glorified mankind, as his father once brought them the law and the truth.

Persian art was derived from Babylonia through that of Susiana. But it lacked the humorous freedom of Babylonian art; it was stiff, severe, and formal. The carved gems were poor imitations of those of Chaldea; even the signet of Darius is rudely cut, and shows little artistic skill. The palaces were raised on lofty platforms like those of Babylonia, where such a protection from the marshy ground was needful; and the platforms were adorned with broad, handsome flights of stairs which led to their top. The buildings which stood on them were comparatively small

and low, but this was compensated by a profusion of light and elegant columns. The columns, again, were due to Babylonian inspiration, and their capitals, with sitting figures of animals, placed back to back and turned sideways toward the spectators, resemble those of Babylon and Nineveh. The coloring of the walls and ceilings was also borrowed from Babylonia, and the bas-reliefs with which the walls were ornamented find their counterpart in the palaces of Assyria. But the subjects were treated in Babylonian and not Assyrian style; Gilgamesh, transformed into a Persian hero, again slays the demon monster with all the thickness of limb that characterized Babylonian art, and the Babylonian rosette makes its appearance everywhere. On the other hand, the long processions of men and animals, the winged solar disk that symbolizes Ormazd, and the struggle between the lion and the bull, remind us of Assyria, though the treatment is thoroughly Babylonian. We feel that the same Sumerian artists who inspired the art of Babylonia must have inspired the art of Persia, as well as the lost art of Elam which preceded it. As in Babylonia, the animal figures are better than the human ones. The winged bulls which guard the entrances of the palaces are Assyrian; not so, however, the fashion of ornamenting the panels of the doorways with figures in relief. On the whole, Persian work in relief is clumsy, but vigorous.

The same substantial solidity characterizes the architecture, in spite of the forests of pillars, by which its general effect was lightened. The platforms and staircases are alike massive, the walls are thick, the doors too narrow for their height. On the other hand, a spirit of harmony and proportion is everywhere observable. The doors exactly face each other; the columns are erected in uniform rows. Egyptian influence may perhaps be detected in the propylæa through which the royal palaces were approached, as well as in the headdress of the man who has the attributes of the winged Asiatic goddess on one of the pillars of the tomb falsely ascribed to Cyrus at Murghab.

Persian architecture may best be studied in the remains of the palace near Persepolis, burned by Alexander. The buildings erected on the different terraces which form the platform were not connected with one another. Of the five largest buildings, one was the palace of Darius, the second that of Xerxes, and the third that of Artaxerxes Okhos, while the other two are known as the

Chehl Minar or hall of a hundred columns—supported as it was by a hundred columns in ten rows of ten, each thirty-five feet high and twenty feet distant from its companion—and the Eastern Palace. The latter contains four groups of pillars, the largest being a square of thirty-six pillars in six rows of six, and covering an area of over twenty thousand square feet. The rooms seem to have been built round the walls of the several palaces, while a portico of columns fronted the visitor.

The tombs of the Persian monarchs consisted of chambers cut out of the rock, that at Murghab alone excepted.

Persian literature has perished, with the exception of the older parts of the Avesta, though the references to it in Herodotos, Ktesias, and other classical writers show that a good deal once existed. The so-called historical literature, however, seems to have resembled Firdusi's Shahnameh, or the histories of foreign nations given by Arabic authors, and to have been mostly legendary. The cursive writing employed for this literature is unknown. The cuneiform alphabet, used for monumental purposes, was probably introduced in the reign of Darius. The tomb at Murghab, which bears the cuneiform legend, "I am Cyrus, the king, the Akhæmenian," cannot belong to the older Cyrus, since Murghab was not Pasargadæ, where he was buried. It is possibly the sepulcher of the satrap of Egypt, the brother of Xerxes, who is called Akhæmenes by Ktesias. This would explain the Egyptian headdress of the sculpture which adorns it. It may, however, have been intended to commemorate a cult of Cyrus; at any rate, the figure represented in the sculptures is not that of a human being, but of a god. The cuneiform alphabet was last employed by Artaxerxes Okhos.

The Persians were not a commercial people, and the trade of the empire was therefore left in the hands of their subjects. The coinage of Darius was, however, remarkably pure. Various devices were cut upon one side of the coin, but the only inscription known is one in Greek letters which records the name Pythagoras. Pythagoras may have been a captain of the mercenaries, since a Greek inscription on the upturned base of a column at Susa is dedicated by "Pythagoras, son of Aristarkhos, captain of the bodyguard," to "his friend Arreneides, the son of Arreneides, governor of Susiana." Attic coins were allowed to pass current in Persia, after being impressed with a mark in the shape of a bar.

The Persian form of government after the reign of Darius has already been described. Its nearest parallel in modern times is that of the Turkish Empire. But the exaggerated flattery and mean-spirited subservience of the Persian toward his monarch would indeed be hard to match. His dress implied a cold climate. Drawers and boots were worn by all classes, stockings and gloves by the rich. Horses were largely employed both in war and in peace, and the Persian bowmen were celebrated. Spiked balls were strewn over the field of battle by Darius Codomannus, and there were six ranks of military officers under the commander-in-chief, who was always a Persian or a Mede. Prisoners of war were treated kindly, unless they happened to be rebels. The luxury and etiquette of the court were proverbial. The harem was guarded by a dense body of eunuchs, and the king seldom emerged from the secrecy of his palace. Cooks and "tasters" abounded, and the king reclined on a couch with golden feet, drinking the wine of Helbon, while an inferior beverage was served to his guests seated below. Drunkenness, it may be observed, was as much a Persian failing as truthfulness was reputed to be a Persian virtue. Hunting, more especially battue shooting in *paradeisoi* or enclosed parks, shared the monarch's time with dice playing, at which large bets were lost and won. Criminals were put to death for slight offenses and in peculiarly cruel ways, and distinctions of class were rigidly maintained. Polygamy was allowed, education neglected, and the queen-mother permitted to exercise an injurious influence over the king, court, and the empire. In short, the empire contained within it from the first all the elements of decay, and the Persian character was one which could with difficulty be respected and never loved.

HISTORY OF ARABIA

HISTORY OF ARABIA

Chapter I

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

FROM the dawn of history the Arabian peninsula has been the possession of the Semitic race. Here was their earliest home, here they developed their racial characteristics, and their religious and social institutions. Forced at times to submit to foreign dominion, the sons of the soil have always reclaimed their ancient patrimony, and even at the present day the land, though it forms part of the Turkish Empire, yields barely a nominal obedience to the rule of the Sultan. From this cradle of the race proceeded the movements which resulted in establishing all the ancient Semitic states known to history. For a very large portion of the soil of Arabia is sterile, and the race has ever been prolific. Sooner or later the time must come when the resources of the land were exhausted and a portion of the population must seek relief in migration. At first a few clans would find their way to the borders of the more fertile neighboring lands. These would be followed by other and larger bodies, until finally, their numbers swelled by constant accessions, they burst like a tidal wave over the more desirable portions of Western Asia. As early as the fourth millennium B. C. Arab tribes had dispossessed the original Sumerian inhabitants and gained possession of Babylonia, where the conquerors soon imbibed Babylonian culture, grafting upon it, however, many elements of their own. In the following millennium swarms from the ancient Semitic motherland reconquered Babylonia from their relatives and predecessors, and established themselves in Assyria. The same tide of immigration brought Palestine and the Mediterranean coast into the hands of Semites, and thence a branch of the race, the Phœnicians, spread their colonies over the isles and coasts of the sea as far as Spain. Later the Chaldean tribes made their way along the shores of the Persian Gulf into Babylonia, where they furnished the last dynasty of rulers to that ancient land between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and the Arameans pushed northward

into Mesopotamia, overthrowing the Hittite dominion in Western Asia and eventually establishing a strong kingdom with Damascus as its capital. The last great Semitic movement occurred in the seventh century of our own era, when the tribes of Arabia united under the banner of Islam and, animated by a common religious fervor, swept over the ancient culture lands of the East, gained permanent possession of Egypt and northern Africa, conquered Spain, and, but for their repulse at the battle of Tours in 732 A. D., all Europe might have fallen a prey to their arms.

But while these great movements, all proceeding from Arabia as a common focus, may readily be traced, the internal history of the country before Islam presents peculiar difficulties, and it is only by the aid of recent epigraphic discoveries that even an outline can be gathered. Formerly the only sources of information upon this subject were the Old Testament, the cuneiform inscriptions, the writings of Greek authors, and the Mohammedan historians. The first of these sources contains a number of references to Arabia, but they are chiefly valuable when interpreted in the light of modern discoveries. The cuneiform annals throw some light upon northern Arabia during the eighth and seventh centuries B. C.; of southern and central Arabia they have nothing to tell. The Greek historians have been found to be utterly unreliable, while the Mohammedan writers present only legendary and distorted accounts. From such material no true or complete picture of ancient Arabian history can be hoped. There is, however, still another source of information, though it has not been available until comparatively recent times. Arabia abounds in ancient inscriptions scattered throughout the country, and explorers have not been wanting who, undeterred by the difficulties and dangers attending the work, have labored to collect them. Since 1810, when Seetzen sent from Mocha five Sabean inscriptions, a very considerable amount of epigraphic material has gradually accumulated. In 1845 T. J. Arnaud copied fifty-six inscriptions in Marib, Sana, and Sirwach, and fifteen years later Colonel Coghlan sent to England more than twenty inscribed bronze tablets from Amran. In 1869 the French epigraphist, Joseph Halevy, disguised as a poor Jew of Jerusalem, traveled through southern Arabia and collected more than seven hundred inscriptions. But even greater success attended the efforts of the Austrian, Edward Glaser, who in four long journeys between 1882 and 1894, col-

lected an amount of material far exceeding all his predecessors. Unfortunately only a small part of Glaser's collections has as yet been published.

The Arabian inscriptions are almost altogether of a religious character and relate chiefly to offerings to the gods in return for favors past or to come. Few allusions to historical events occur, but the name of the reigning sovereign is usually given, and much information may be gathered in regard to existing social and political conditions. In this way, with the aid of the sources cited above, an outline at least of ancient Arabian history can be formed. It must, however, be remembered that large districts of southern Arabia are as yet entirely unexplored, and it can hardly be doubted that future exploration, systematically carried out, will add greatly to the existing knowledge of the subject.

At some time before the third millennium B. C., when the ancestors of the Assyrians, Hebrews, and Phœnicians migrated northward into the settlements later occupied by them, another Arabian tribe, styling themselves Mineans, appear to have moved southward and established themselves in the central part of southern Arabia. Here they founded the kingdom of Ma'in with Karnawu—the Karna of Greek writers—as its capital. To the south and east of Ma'in were Kataban and Hadhramaut, of whose history little is known save that they continued to preserve a separate, if not an independent, existence down to a late period, and are well known to Greek writers. When the earliest inscriptions begin, about the fourteenth century B. C., Ma'in was evidently a kingdom of long standing, exhibiting a firm political organization and a considerable degree of culture. Commerce was the basis of its wealth and power, and it commanded an important trade route from India to the Mediterranean, to whose shores the influence of Ma'in extended. Gaza was its Mediterranean port, and the strong colony of Musran or Musri, in the Biblical land of Midian, served to guard and keep open the way to the sea. Musri is several times mentioned in the Old Testament, but hitherto it has generally been confounded with Egypt by the commentators. Four other districts mentioned in the Old Testament have been identified by the aid of the old Arabian inscriptions. They are: Ashur and Eber, corresponding approximately to Edom; Jareb, lying somewhat farther east, and Kush, in central Arabia. Ashur and Kush have hitherto usually been mistaken for Assyria

and Ethiopia, and their correct identification throws new light on the Biblical passages in which they occur. No inscriptions have been found in any of these districts except Musri, and little is known of their history. It seems probable, however, that their inhabitants were nomads with no permanent political organization.

The kingdom of Ma'in seems to have endured from the date of its earliest appearance in contemporary records for some seven hundred years, or from about 1400 to about 700 B. C. The names of twenty-five of its kings have been found in the inscriptions, and in the majority of cases their genealogical connection can be traced. For some time before the kingdom comes to an end evidence of its decline may be observed. The important colony of Musri seems to have thrown off the yoke of the mother country and obtained its independence perhaps as early as the ninth century B. C. It was clearly independent in the eighth century, when Tiglath-Pileser (745-727 B. C.) made it tributary to Assyria and appointed as its governor the Arab sheik, Idibi'il; and Pir'u, King of Musri, is mentioned in the annals of Sargon (721-705 B. C.). An important indication of the decline of Ma'in is the fact that in the latest Minean inscriptions the aid and protection of the gods of the Sabeans are frequently invoked, a direct confession of Minean weakness and an acknowledgement of Sabean superiority.

The Sabeans, originally a nomadic people of northwestern Arabia, seem to have moved southward about the ninth or eighth century B. C. Toward the close of the latter century Sargon (721-705), King of Assyria, mentions Itamara the Sabean as one of the northern Arabian chiefs who paid tribute to him, and the pressure of the Assyrian armies may have hastened the southward movement of the tribe. Gradually they acquired settlements on the borders of Ma'in, and ere long several towns which formerly acknowledged Minean supremacy came under their dominion. The earliest chiefs of the Sabeans bore the title of Mukarrib, a term difficult of explanation, but which seems, however, to designate a ruler who was at once the religious and political head of his people. About 700 B. C. the kingdom of Ma'in fell before the Sabean Mukarribs, and thereafter appears no more among the southern Arabian states. The Mukarribs welded together the scattered remnants of Ma'in and its provinces into a new kingdom, and from about 550 B. C. they bear the title of kings of Saba—the Biblical Sheba. In the consolidation of their new dominion they

encountered serious opposition, notably from Kataban and Hadhramaut, on the southern coast, but finally the greater part of southern Arabia was brought under their sway. On the other hand Saba encountered a deadly blow in the loss of the Indian trade. Under the Ptolemies the sea route to India by way of the Red Sea was opened, and the important trade that formerly crossed Arabia in caravans was diverted to the new route. After the loss of this, its main source of wealth and influence, Saba sank lower and lower until about 115 B. C. the supremacy of southern Arabia passed into the hands of the Himyarites, a people who originally dwelt in the southwestern corner of the Arabian peninsula. The new sovereigns, who add to their title the name of their ancestral castle and style themselves kings of Saba and Raidan, ruled until about 300 A. D. In the year 26 B. C. a Roman army under Ælius Gallus attempted the conquest of southern Arabia, but the expedition utterly failed, and the land was for centuries thereafter secure from foreign invasion.

Under the rule of the Sabean kings there was an extensive migration from southwestern Arabia into Africa across the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and this migration resulted in the Semitic occupation of Abyssinia. Under the dominion of the Himyarites, their close kinsmen, descendants of these Abyssinian emigrants returned in large numbers to southern Arabia, and there gradually attained to an influential position in the state. About 300 A. D. they had become the controlling element and were able to overthrow the Himyarite sovereignty and to establish themselves as rulers of a new kingdom, under the title of kings of Saba and Raidan, of Hadhramaut and Yemen. Their rule, however, lasted but for a brief period. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Jews were scattered in every direction, and large numbers of them settled in southern Arabia, where they engaged in commerce, and some became wealthy and powerful. In course of time, making common cause with the Himyarites, they expelled the Abyssinian intruders and established a Jewish dynasty, whose best-known representative was the celebrated king, Dhu Nuwas. In the meantime Christianity had been brought from Egypt into Abyssinia, and, spreading thence to southern Arabia, made rapid progress there. According to Christian legends the followers of the new religion were cruelly persecuted by their Jewish rulers, especially by King Dhu Nuwas. In 525 A. D. the Christian Abyssinians

came to the aid of their oppressed brethren, the Jewish rule was overthrown, and southern Arabia was once more under Abyssinian dominion. The Christian supremacy, however, endured for hardly fifty years. The old noble families in their strong castles held sullenly aloof from both Judaism and Christianity, and remained attached to their ancient heathen religion. About 575 A. D. they summoned the Persians, who made themselves masters of the land, and established their governors in Yemen. The Persian rule, like that of the Christian Abyssinians, was of brief duration. Little more than half a century later the teaching of the Prophet spread throughout the ancient dominion of the Sabeans, and the whole Arabian peninsula was permanently united in Islam. From this point the history of the land is traced in the eloquent pages of Gibbon, which follow.

NOTE.—In the succeeding chapters on the history of Arabia, including the rise and fall of the Moslem Empire, by Gibbon, the reader will bear in mind and make due allowance for the author's well-known bias against Christianity.

Chapter II

ARABIA BEFORE THE COMING OF MOHAMMED

IN the vacant space between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia the Arabian peninsula may be conceived as a triangle of spacious but irregular dimensions. From the northern point of Beles on the Euphrates a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb and the land of frankincense. About half this length may be allowed for the middle breadth, from east to west, from Bassora to Suez, from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. The sides of the triangle are gradually enlarged, and the southern basis presents a front of a thousand miles to the Indian Ocean. The entire surface of the peninsula exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been justly stigmatized with the epithets of the "stony" and the "sandy." Even the wilds of Tatary are decked by the hand of nature with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveler derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waste of Arabia a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains, and the face of the desert, without shade or shelter, is scorched by the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun. Instead of refreshing breezes, the winds, particularly from the southwest, diffuse a noxious and even deadly vapor; the hillocks of sand which they alternately raise and scatter are compared to the billows of the ocean, and whole caravans, whole armies, have been lost and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of desire and contest, and such is the scarcity of wood that some art is requisite to preserve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia is destitute of navigable rivers, which fertilize the soil and convey its produce to the adjacent regions; the torrents that fall from the hills are imbibed by the thirsty earth; the rare and hardy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that strike their roots into the clefts of the rocks, are nourished by the dews of the night; a scanty supply of rain is collected in cisterns and aqueducts; the

wells and springs are the secret treasure of the desert; and the pilgrim of Mecca, after many a dry and sultry march, is disgusted by the taste of the waters which have rolled over a bed of sulphur or salt. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The experience of evil enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyments. A shady grove, a green pasture, a stream of fresh water, are sufficient to attract a colony of sedentary Arabs to the fortunate spots which can afford food and refreshment to themselves and their cattle, and which encourage their industry in the cultivation of the palm tree and the vine. The highlands that border on the Indian Ocean are distinguished by their superior wealth of wood and water; the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race are more numerous, the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincense and coffee have attracted in different ages the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the rest of the peninsula, this sequestered region may truly deserve the appellation of the "happy"; and the splendid coloring of fancy and fiction has been suggested by contrast, and countenanced by distance. It was for this earthly paradise that nature had reserved her choicest favors and her most curious workmanship: the incompatible blessings of luxury and innocence were ascribed to the natives, the soil was impregnated with gold and gems, and both the land and sea were made to exhale the odors of aromatic sweets. This division of the "sandy," the "stony," and the "happy," so familiar to the Greeks and Latins, is unknown to the Arabians themselves; and it is singular enough that a country whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography. The maritime districts of Bahrein and Oman are opposite to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of Yemen displays the limits, or at least the situation, of Arabia Felix: the name of Neged is extended over the inland space; and the birth of Mohammed has made illustrious the province of Hejaz along the coast of the Red Sea.

The measure of population is regulated by the means of subsistence, and the inhabitants of this vast peninsula might be outnumbered by the subjects of a fertile and industrious province. Along the shores of the Persian Gulf, of the ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *ichthyophagi,* or fish-eaters, continued to wander in

quest of their precarious food. In this primitive and abject state, which ill deserves the name of society, the human brute, without arts or laws, almost without sense or language, is poorly distinguished from the rest of the animal creation. Generations and ages might roll away in silent oblivion, and the helpless savage was restrained from multiplying his race by the wants and pursuits which confined his existence to the narrow margin of the seacoast.

In an early period of antiquity the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery; and as the naked wilderness could not maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert, and in the portrait of the modern Beduins we may trace the features of their ancestors who, in the age of Moses or Mohammed, dwelt under similar tents and conducted their horses and camels and sheep to the same springs and the same pastures. Our toil is lessened and our wealth is increased by our dominion over the useful animals; and the Arabian shepherd had acquired the absolute possession of a faithful friend and a laborious slave. Arabia, in the opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the horse; the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the spirit and swiftness of that generous animal. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish and the English breed, is derived from a mixture of Arabian blood, and the Beduins preserve, with superstitious care, the honors and the memory of the purest race. The males are sold at a high price, but the females are seldom alienated, and the birth of a noble foal was esteemed among the tribes as a subject of joy and mutual congratulation. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity which trains them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. They are accustomed only to walk and to gallop, and their sensations are not blunted by the incessant abuse of the spur and the whip. Their powers are reserved for the moments of flight and pursuit, but no sooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup than they dart away with the swiftness of the wind, and if their friend be dismounted in the rapid career they instantly stop till he has recovered his seat. In the sands of Africa and Arabia the camel is a sacred and precious gift. That strong and patient beast of burden can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days; and a reservoir of fresh

water is preserved in a large bag, a fifth stomach of the animal, whose body is imprinted with the marks of servitude. A larger breed is capable of transporting a weight of a thousand pounds, and the dromedary, of a lighter and more active frame, outstrips the fleetest courser in the race. Alive or dead, almost every part of the camel is serviceable to man: her milk is plentiful and nutritious, the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal, a valuable salt is extracted from the urine, the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel, and the long hair, which falls each year and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents of the Beduins. In the rainy seasons they consume the rare and insufficient herbage of the desert; during the heats of summer and the scarcity of winter they remove their encampments to the seacoast, the hills of Yemen, or the neighborhood of the Euphrates, and have often extorted the dangerous license of visiting the banks of the Nile and the villages of Syria and Palestine. The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and, though sometimes by rapine or exchange he may appropriate the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in the possession of more solid and pleasing luxury than the proudest emir who marches in the field at the head of ten thousand horse.

Yet an essential difference may be found between the hordes of Scythia and the Arabian tribes, since many of the latter were collected into towns and employed in the labors of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle. They mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert, and the Beduins derived from their useful intercourse some supply of their wants and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia enumerated by Abulfeda, the most ancient and populous were situated in the "happy" Yemen. The towers of Sana and the marvelous reservoir of Marib were constructed by the kings of the Himyarites, but their profane luster was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of Medina and Mecca, near the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of two hundred and seventy miles. The last of these holy places was known to the Greeks under the name of Macoraba; and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness, which has not, indeed, in the most flourishing period, exceeded the size and populousness of Marseilles. Some latent motive, perhaps of superstition, must have impelled the founders

in the choice of a most unpromising situation. They erected their habitations of mud or stone in a plain about two miles long and one mile broad, at the foot of three barren mountains. The soil is a rock, the water even of the holy well of Zemzem is bitter or brackish, the pastures are remote from the city, and grapes are transported above seventy miles from the gardens of Tayef. The fame and spirit of the Koreishites, who reigned in Mecca, were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful soil refused the labors of agriculture, and their position was favorable to the enterprises of trade. By the seaport of Gedda, at the distance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia, and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mohammed. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the peninsula to Gerrha or Katif, in the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is said, of rock-salt, by the Chaldean exiles; and thence, with the native pearls of the Persian Gulf, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey, between Yemen on the right and Syria on the left hand. The former was the winter, the latter the summer, station of her caravans; and their seasonable arrival relieved the ships of India from the tedious and troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets of Sana and Marib, in the harbors of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bosra and Damascus, the lucrative exchange diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca, and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the profession of merchandise.

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praise among strangers and natives, and the arts of controversy transform this singular event into a prophecy and a miracle, in favor of the posterity of Ishmael. Some exceptions, that can neither be dismissed nor eluded, render this mode of reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous. The kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the sultans of Egypt, and the Turks, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a foreign tyrant, and the Roman province of Arabia embraced the peculiar wilderness in which Ishmael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet these exceptions are temporary or local; the body of the nation

has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies—the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia. The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack.

The obvious source and causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs. Many ages before Mohammed their intrepid valor had been severely felt by their neighbors in offensive and defensive war. The patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The care of the sheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe, but the martial youth, under the banner of the emir, is ever on horseback, and in the field, to practice the exercise of the bow, the javelin, and the scimiter. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity, and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent and to maintain their inheritance. Their domestic feuds are suspended on the approach of a common enemy, and in their last hostilities against the Turks the caravan of Mecca was attacked and pillaged by fourscore thousand of the confederates. When they advance to battle the hope of victory is in the front; in the rear, the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, which in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror; the secret waters of the desert elude his search, and his victorious troops are consumed with thirst, hunger, and fatigue in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude. The arms and deserts of the Beduins are not only the safeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers also of the happy Arabia, whose inhabitants, remote from war, are enervated by the luxury of the soil and climate. The legions of Augustus melted away in disease and lassitude; and it is only by a naval power that the reduction of Yemen has been successfully attempted. When Mohammed erected his holy standard that kingdom was a province of the Persian Empire; yet seven princes of the Himyarites still reigned in the mountains, and the vicegerent of Chosroes was tempted to forget his distant country and his unfortunate master. The historians of the age of Justinian represent the state of the independent Arabs, who were divided by interest or affection in

the long quarrel of the East: the tribe of Ghassan was allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory; the princes of Hira were permitted to form a city about forty miles to the southward of the ruins of Babylon. Their service in the field was speedy and vigorous, but their friendship was venal, their faith inconstant, their enmity capricious; it was an easier task to excite than to disarm these roving barbarians, and in the familiar intercourse of war they learned to see and to despise the splendid weakness both of Rome and of Persia. From Mecca to the Euphrates the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of Saracens, a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

The slaves of domestic tyranny may vainly exult in their national independence; but the Arab is personally free, and he enjoys, in some degree, the benefits of society without forfeiting the prerogatives of nature. In every tribe superstition, or gratitude, or fortune has exalted a particular family above the heads of their equals. The dignities of sheik and emir invariably descend in this chosen race; but the order of succession is loose and precarious, and the most worthy or aged of the noble kinsmen are preferred for the simple, though important, office of settling disputes by their advice and guiding valor by their example. Even a female of sense and spirit has been permitted to command the countrymen of Zenobia. The momentary junction of several tribes produces an army; their more lasting union constitutes a nation; and the supreme chief, the emir of emirs, whose banner is displayed at their head, may deserve, in the eyes of strangers, the honors of the kingly name. If the Arabian princes abuse their power, they are quickly punished by the desertion of their subjects, who have been accustomed to a mild and parental jurisdiction. Their spirit is free, their steps are unconfined, the desert is open, and the tribes and families are held together by a mutual and voluntary compact. The softer natives of Yemen supported the pomp and majesty of a monarch, but if he could not leave his palace without endangering his life, the active powers of government must have been devolved on his nobles and magistrates. The cities of Mecca and Medina present, in the heart of Asia, the form, or rather the substance, of a commonwealth. The grandfather of Mohammed and his lineal ancestors appear in foreign and domestic transactions as the princes of their country; but they reigned, like Pericles at Athens, or the

Medici at Florence, by the opinion of their wisdom and integrity. Their influence was divided with their patrimony, and the scepter was transferred from the uncles of the Prophet to the younger branch of the tribe of Koreish. On solemn occasions they convened the assembly of the people, and, since mankind must be either compelled or persuaded to obey, the use and reputation of oratory among the ancient Arabs is the clearest evidence of public freedom. But their simple freedom was of a very different cast from the nice and artificial machinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in which each member possessed an undivided share of the civil and political rights of the community. In the more simple state of the Arabs the nation is free because each of her sons disdains a base submission to the will of a master. His breast is fortified by the austere virtues of courage, patience, and sobriety, the love of independence prompts him to exercise the habits of self-command, and the fear of dishonor guards him from the meaner apprehension of pain, of danger, and of death. The gravity and firmness of the mind is conspicuous in his outward demeanor. His speech is slow, weighty, and concise, he is seldom provoked to laughter, his only gesture is that of stroking his beard, the venerable symbol of manhood, and the sense of his own importance teaches him to accost his equals without levity, and his superiors without awe. The liberty of the Saracens survived their conquests. The first caliphs indulged the bold and familiar language of their subjects, and ascended the pulpit to persuade and edify the congregation; nor was it before the seat of empire was removed to the Tigris that the Abbasids adopted the proud and pompous ceremonial of the Persian and Byzantine court.

In the study of nations and men we may observe the causes that render them hostile or friendly to each other, that tend to narrow or enlarge, to mollify or exasperate, the social character. The separation of the Arabs from the rest of mankind has accustomed them to confound the ideas of stranger and enemy; and the poverty of the land has introduced a maxim of jurisprudence, which they believe and practice to the present hour. They pretend that in the division of the earth the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family, and that the posterity of the outlaw Ishmael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived. According to the remark of Pliny, the Arabian tribes are equally

addicted to theft and merchandise; the caravans that traverse the desert are ransomed or pillaged, and their neighbors, since the remote times of Job and Sesostris, have been the victims of their rapacious spirit. If a Beduin discovers from afar a solitary traveler, he rides furiously against him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undress thyself, thy aunt [my wife] is without a garment." A ready submission entitles him to mercy; resistance will provoke the aggressor, and his own blood must expiate the blood which he presumes to shed in legitimate defense. A single robber, or a few associates, are branded with their genuine name, but the exploits of a numerous band assume the character of lawful and honorable war. The temper of a people thus armed against mankind was doubly inflamed by the domestic license of rapine, murder, and revenge.

In the constitution of Europe the right of peace and war is now confined to a small, and the actual exercise to a much smaller, list of respectable potentates; but each Arab, with impunity and renown, might point his javelin against the life of his countryman. The union of the nation consisted only in a vague resemblance of language and manners, and in each community the jurisdiction of the magistrate was mute and impotent. Of the time of ignorance which preceded Mohammed, seventeen hundred battles are recorded by tradition. Hostility was imbittered with the rancor of civil faction, and the recital, in prose or verse, of an obsolete feud was sufficient to rekindle the same passions among the descendants of the hostile tribes. In private life every man, at least every family, was the judge and avenger of his own cause. The nice sensibility of honor which weighs the insult rather than the injury, sheds its deadly venom on the quarrels of the Arabs—the honor of their women, and of their beards, is most easily wounded. An indecent action, a contemptuous word, can be expiated only by the blood of the offender, and such is their patient inveteracy that they await whole months and years the opportunity of revenge. A fine or compensation for murder is familiar to the barbarians of every age; but in Arabia the kinsmen of the dead are at liberty to accept the atonement or to exercise with their own hands the law of retaliation. The refined malice of the Arabs refuses even the head of the murderer, substitutes an innocent for the guilty person, and transfers the penalty to the best and most considerable of the race by whom they have been injured. If he

falls by their hands they are exposed, in their turn, to the danger or reprisals, the interest and principal of the bloody debt are accumulated, the individuals of either family leading a life of malice and suspicion, and fifty years may sometimes elapse before the account of vengeance be finally settled. This sanguinary spirit, ignorant of pity or forgiveness, has been moderated, however, by the maxims of honor which require in every private encounter some decent equality of age and strength, of numbers and weapons. An annual festival of two, perhaps of four, months was observed by the Arabs before the time of Mohammed, during which their swords were religiously sheathed both in foreign and domestic hostility, and this partial truce is more strongly expressive of the habits of anarchy and warfare.

But the spirit of rapine and revenge was tempered by the milder influence of trade and literature. The solitary peninsula is encompassed by the most civilized nations of the ancient world, the merchant is the friend of mankind, and the annual caravans imported the first seeds of knowledge and politeness into the cities, and even the camps of the desert. Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs, their language is derived from the same original stock with the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldean tongues. The independence of the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects, but each, after their own, allowed a just preference to the pure and perspicuous idiom of Mecca. In Arabia, as well as in Greece, the perfection of language outstripped the refinement of manners, and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a sword, at a time when this copious dictionary was intrusted to the memory of an illiterate people. The monuments of the Himyarites were inscribed with an obsolete and mysterious character; but the Cufic letters, the groundwork of the present alphabet, were invented on the banks of the Euphrates, and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled in that city after the birth of Mohammed.

The scholarly arts of grammar, of meter, and of rhetoric were unknown to the freeborn eloquence of the Arabians, but their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong and sententious, and their more elaborate compositions were addressed with energy and effect to the minds of their hearers. The genius and merit of a rising poet was celebrated by the ap-

plause of his own and the kindred tribes. A solemn banquet was prepared, and a chorus of women, striking their tymbals, and displaying the pomp of their nuptials, sung in the presence of their sons and husbands the felicity of their native tribe; that a champion had now appeared to vindicate their rights; that a herald had raised his voice to immortalize their renown. The distant or hostile tribes resorted to an annual fair, which was abolished by the fanaticism of the first Moslems—a national assembly that must have contributed to refine and harmonize the barbarians. Thirty days were employed in the exchange, not only of corn and wine, but of eloquence and poetry. The prize was disputed by the generous emulation of the bards, the victorious performance was deposited in the archives of princes and emirs, and we may read in our own language the seven original poems which were inscribed in letters of gold and suspended in the temple of Mecca. The Arabian poets were the historians and moralists of the age, and if they sympathized with the prejudices, they inspired and crowned the virtues, of their countrymen. The indissoluble union of generosity and valor was the darling theme of their song, and when they pointed their keenest satire against a despicable race, they affirmed, in the bitterness of reproach, that the men knew not how to give, nor the women to deny.

The same hospitality which was practiced by Abraham and celebrated by Homer is still renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The ferocious Beduins, the terror of the desert, embrace, without inquiry or hesitation, the stranger who dares to confide in their honor and to enter their tent. His treatment is kind and respectful. He shares the wealth, or the poverty, of his host, and, after a needful repose, he is dismissed on his way, with thanks, with blessings, and perhaps with gifts. The heart and hand are more largely expanded by the wants of a brother or a friend; but the heroic acts that could deserve the public applause must have surpassed the narrow measure of discretion and experience. A dispute had arisen, who among the citizens of Mecca was entitled to the prize of generosity; and a successive application was made to the three who were deemed most worthy of the trial. Abdallah, the son of Abbas, had undertaken a distant journey, and his foot was in the stirrup when he heard the voice of a suppliant, "O son of the uncle of the Apostle of God, I am a traveler, and in distress!" He instantly dismounted to present the pilgrim with his camel, her rich

caparison, and a purse of four thousand pieces of gold, excepting only the sword, either for its intrinsic value or as the gift of an honored kinsman. The servant of Kais informed the second suppliant that his master was asleep; but he immediately added, "Here is a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold (it is all we have in the house), and here is an order that will entitle you to a camel and a slave." The master, as soon as he awoke, praised and enfranchized his faithful steward, and, with a gentle reproof, that by respecting his slumbers he had stinted his bounty. The third of these heroes, the blind Arabah, at the hour of prayer was supporting his steps on the shoulders of two slaves. "Alas!" he replied, "my coffers are empty! but these you may sell; if you refuse, I renounce them." At these words, pushing away the youths, he groped along the wall with his staff. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue. He was brave and liberal, an eloquent poet, and a successful robber. Forty camels were roasted at his hospitable feasts, and at the prayer of a suppliant enemy he restored both the captives and the spoil. The freedom of his countrymen disdained the laws of justice—they proudly indulged the spontaneous impulse of pity and benevolence.

The religion of the Arabs, as well as of the Indians, consisted in the worship of the sun, the moon, and the fixed stars—a primitive and specious mode of superstition. The bright luminaries of the sky display the visible image of a diety. Their number and distance convey to a philosophic, or even a vulgar, eye, the idea of boundless space; the character of eternity is marked on these solid globes that seem incapable of corruption or decay; the regularity of the motions may be ascribed to a principle of reason or instinct; and their real or imaginary influence encourages the vain belief that the earth and its inhabitants are the object of their peculiar care. The science of astronomy was cultivated at Babylon, but the school of the Arabs was a clear firmament and a naked plain. In their nocturnal marches they steered by the guidance of the stars. Their names, and order, and daily station were familiar to the curiosity and devotion of the Beduin, and he was taught by experience to divide, in twenty-eight parts, the zodiac of the moon, and to bless the constellations that refreshed with salutary rains the thirst of the desert. The reign of the heavenly orbs could not be extended beyond the visible sphere, and some metaphysical powers were necessary to sustain the transmigration of souls and the resurrec-

tion of bodies: a camel was left to perish on the grave, that he might serve his master in another life, and the invocation of departed spirits implies that they were still endowed with consciousness and power. I am ignorant, and am careless, of the blind mythology of the barbarians; of the local deities, of the stars, the air and the earth, of their sex or titles, their attributes or subordination. Each tribe, each family, each independent warrior, created and changed the rites and the object of his fantastic worship; but the nation, in every age, has bowed to the religion, as well as to the language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the Kaaba ascends beyond the Christian era. In describing the coast of the Red Sea, the Greek historian Diodorus has remarked, between the Thamudites and the Sabeans, a famous temple whose superior sanctity was revered by all the Arabians, the linen or silken veil, which, annually renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first offered by a pious king of the Himyarites, who reigned seven hundred years before the time of Mohammed. A tent or a cavern might suffice for the worship of the savages, but an edifice of stone and clay has been erected in its place, and the art and power of the monarchs of the East have been confined to the simplicity of the original model. A spacious portico encloses the quadrangle of the Kaaba, a square chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high. A door and a window admit the light, and the double roof is supported by three pillars of wood, while a spout (now of gold) discharges the rain-water, and the well Zemzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution.

The tribe of Koreish, by fraud or force, had acquired the custody of the Kaaba, the sacerdotal office devolved through four lineal descents to the grandfather of Mohammed, and the family of the Hashimites, whence he sprung, was the most respectable and sacred in the eyes of their country. The precincts of Mecca enjoyed the rights of sanctuary, and in the last month of each year the city and the temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who presented their vows and offerings in the house of God. The same rites which are now accomplished by the faithful Mussulman were invented and practiced by the superstition of the idolaters. At a reverential distance they cast away their garments; seven times, with hasty steps, they encircled the Kaaba, and kissed the black stone; seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina,

and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Kaaba their domestic worship. The temple was adorned, or defiled, with three hundred and sixty idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes, and most conspicuous was the statue of Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, the instruments and symbols of profane divination. But this statue was a monument of Syrian arts. The devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet, and the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the reproach of an idolatrous origin. From Japan to Peru the use of sacrifice has universally prevailed, and the votary has expressed his gratitude, or fear, by destroying or consuming, in honor of the gods, the dearest and most precious of their gifts. The life of a man is the most precious oblation to deprecate a public calamity. The altars of Phœnicia and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been polluted with human gore, and the cruel practice was long preserved among the Arabs. In the third century a boy was annually sacrificed by the tribe of the Dumatians, and a royal captive was piously slaughtered by the prince of the Saracens, the ally and soldier of the Emperior Justinian. A parent who drags his son to the altar exhibits the most painful and sublime effort of fanaticism; the deed, or the intention, was sanctified by the example of saints and heroes, and the father of Mohammed himself was devoted by a rash vow, and hardly ransomed for the equivalent of a hundred camels. In the time of ignorance the Arabs, like the Jews and Egyptians, abstained from the taste of swine's flesh, and they circumcised their children at the age of puberty; the same customs, without the censure or the precept of the Koran, have been silently transmitted to their posterity and proselytes. It has been sagaciously conjectured that the artful legislator indulged the stubborn prejudices of his countrymen. It is more simple to believe that he adhered to the habits and opinions of his youth, without foreseeing that a practice congenial to the climate of Mecca might become useless or inconvenient on the banks of the Danube or the Volga.

Arabia was free—the adjacent kingdoms were shaken by the storms of conquest and tyranny, and the persecuted sects fled to the happy land where they might profess what they thought and prac-

tice what they professed. The religions of the Sabians and Magians, of the Jews and Christians, were disseminated from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. In a remote period of antiquity Sabianism was diffused over Asia by the science of the Chaldeans and the arms of the Assyrians. From the observations of two thousand years the priests and astronomers of Babylon deduced the eternal laws of nature and providence. They adored the seven gods, or angels, who directed the course of the seven planets, and shed their irresistible influence on the earth. The attributes of the seven planets, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations of the northern and southern hemisphere, were represented by images and talismans; the seven days of the week were dedicated to their respective deities; the Sabians prayed thrice each day; and the temple of the moon at Haran was the term of their pilgrimage. But the flexible genius of their faith was always ready either to teach or to learn. In the tradition of the Creation, the deluge, and the patriarchs they held a singular agreement with their Jewish captives. They appealed to the secret books of Adam, Seth, and Enoch, and a slight infusion of the Gospel has transformed the last remnant of the polytheists into the Christians of St. John, in the territory of Bassora. The altars of Babylon were overturned by the Magians, but the injuries of the Sabians were revenged by the sword of Alexander. Persia groaned above five hundred years under a foreign yoke, and the purest disciples of Zoroaster escaped from the contagion of idolatry and breathed with their adversaries the freedom of the desert. Seven hundred years before the death of Mohammed the Jews were settled in Arabia, and a far greater multitude was expelled from the Holy Land in the wars of Titus and Hadrian in 79 A. D. The industrious exiles aspiring to liberty and power, they erected synagogues in the cities and castles in the wilderness, and their Gentile converts were confounded with the children of Israel, whom they resembled in the outward mark of circumcision. The Christian missionaries were still more active and successful. The Catholics asserted their universal reign, and the sects whom they oppressed successively retired beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. The Marcionites and Manichæans dispersed their fantastic opinions and apocryphal gospels, and the churches of Yemen and the princes of Hira and Ghassan were instructed in a purer creed by the Jacobite and Nestorian bishops.

The liberty of choice was presented to all the tribes—each Arab being free to elect or to compose his private religion—and the rude superstition of his house was mingled with the sublime theology of saints and philosophers. A fundamental article of faith was inculcated by the consent of the learned strangers—the existence of one supreme God, who is exalted above the powers of heaven and earth, but who has often revealed himself to mankind by the ministry of his angels and prophets, and whose grace or justice has interrupted, by seasonable miracles, the order of nature. The most rational of the Arabs acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worship; and it was habit rather than conviction that still attached them to the relics of idolatry. The Jews and Christians were the people of the Book; and the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language, and the volume of the Old Testament was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promises of Ishmael, revered the faith and virtue of Abraham, traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbibed with equal credulity the prodigies of the holy text and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish rabbis.

Chapter III

MOHAMMED, THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

THE base and plebeian origin of Mohammed is a calumny of the Christians, who exalt instead of degrading the merit of their adversary. His descent from Ishmael was a national fable; but if the first steps of the pedigree are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility. He sprang from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashim, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Kaaba. The grandfather of Mohammed was Abd al Muttalib, the son of Hashim, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the courage of the son. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of Abyssinia. Their vassal Abrahah was provoked by an insult to avenge the honor of the cross, and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed, and in the first audience the grandfather of Mohammed demanded the restitution of his cattle. "And why," said Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favor of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle are my own; Kaaba belongs to the gods, and they will defend their house from injury and sacrilege." The want of provisions or the valor of the Koreish compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat in 570 A. D. Their discomfiture has been adorned with a miraculous flight of birds, who showered down stones on the heads of the infidels, and the deliverance was long commemorated by the era of the elephant. The glory of Abd al Muttalib was crowned with domestic happiness, his life was prolonged to the age of one hundred and ten years, and he became the father of six daughters and thirteen sons. His best beloved Abdallah was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabian youth, and in the first night, when he consummated his marriage with

Amina, of the noble race of the Zahrites, two hundred virgins are said to have expired of jealousy and despair. Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, the only son of Abdallah and Amina, was born at Mecca four years after the death of Justinian, and two months (*i. e.*, in August, 570 A. D.) after the defeat of the Abyssinians, whose victory would have introduced into the Kaaba the religion of the Christians. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; his uncles were strong and numerous; and in the division of the inheritance the orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Talib, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth. In his twenty-fifth year he entered into the service of Kadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage contract, in the simple style of antiquity, recites the mutual love of Mohammed and Kadijah, describes him as the most accomplished of the tribe of Koreish, and stipulates a dowry of twelve ounces of gold and twenty camels, which was supplied by the liberality of his uncle. By this alliance the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors, and the judicious matron was content with his domestic virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age, he assumed the title of a prophet and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

According to the tradition of his companions, Mohammed was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. In the familiar offices of life he scrupulously adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeness of his country. His respectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca, the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views, and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevolence. His memory was capacious and retentive; his wit easy and social; his imagination sublime; his judgment clear, rapid, and de-

cisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action, and, although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his divine mission bears the stamp of an original and superior genius. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia, and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. With these powers of eloquence Mohammed was an illiterate barbarian. His youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing, the common ignorance exempted him from shame or reproach, but he was reduced to a narrow circle of existence and deprived of those faithful mirrors which reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes. Yet the book of nature and of man was open to his view; and some fancy has been indulged in the political and philosophical observations which are ascribed to the Arabian traveler. He compares the nations and the religions of the earth; discovers the weakness of the Persian and Roman monarchies; beholds, with pity and indignation, the degeneracy of the times; and resolves to unite under one God and one king the invincible spirit and primitive virtues of the Arabs. Our more accurate inquiry will suggest that instead of visiting the courts, the camps, the temples of the East, the two journeys of Mohammed into Syria were confined to the fairs of Bosra and Damascus; that he was only thirteen years of age when he accompanied the caravan of his uncle; and that his duty compelled him to return as soon as he had disposed of the merchandise of Kadijah. In these hasty and superficial excursions the eye of genius might discern some objects invisible to his grosser companions; some seeds of knowledge might be cast upon a fruitful soil; but his ignorance of the Syriac language must have checked his curiosity, and I cannot perceive in the life or writings of Mohammed that his prospect was far extended beyond the limits of the Arabian world. From every region of that solitary world the pilgrims of Mecca were annually assembled by the calls of devotion and commerce; in the free concourse of multitudes, a simple citizen in his native tongue might study the political state and character of the tribes, the theory and practice of the Jews and Christians. Some useful strangers may be tempted, or forced, to implore the rights of hospitality, and the enemies of Mohammed have named the Jew, the Persian, and the Syrian monk, whom they accuse of lending their secret aid to the

composition of the Koran. Conversation enriches the understanding, but solitude is the school of genius; and the uniformity of a work denotes the hand of a single artist. From his earliest youth Mohammed was addicted to religious contemplation. Each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world, and from the arms of Kadijah; in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens, but in the mind of the Prophet. The faith which, under the name of Islam, he preached to his family and nation is compounded of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction, "That there is only one God, and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God."

It is the boast of the Jewish apologists that while the learned nations of antiquity were deluded by the fables of polytheism, their simple ancestors of Palestine preserved the knowledge and worship of the true God. The moral attributes of Jehovah may not easily be reconciled with the standard of human virtue—his metaphysical qualities are darkly expressed; but each page of the Pentateuch and the Prophets is an evidence of his power. The unity of his name is inscribed on the first table of the law, and his sanctuary was never defiled by any visible image of the invisible essence. After the ruin of the temple the faith of the Hebrew exiles was purified, fixed, and enlightened by the spiritual devotion of the synagogue; and the authority of Mohammed will not justify his perpetual reproach that the Jews of Mecca or Medina adored Ezra as the son of God. But the children of Israel had ceased to be a people, and the religions of the world were guilty, at least in the eyes of the Prophet, of giving sons, or daughters, or companions to the supreme God. In the rude idolatry of the Arabs the crime is manifest and audacious: the Sabians are poorly excused by the preëminence of the first planet, or intelligence, in their celestial hierarchy, and in the Magian system the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of paganism. Their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East, the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration, and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honors of a goddess. The mys-

teries of the Trinity and Incarnation appear to contradict the principle of the divine unity. In their obvious sense they introduce three equal deities, and transform the man Jesus into the substance of the Son of God. An orthodox commentary will satisfy only a believing mind. Intemperate curiosity and zeal had torn the veil of the sanctuary, and each of the Oriental sects was eager to confess that all, except themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism. The creed of Mohammed is free from suspicion or ambiguity, and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The Prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. In the Author of the universe his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal Being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of His own nature, and deriving from Himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the Prophet, are firmly held by his disciples, and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic theist might subscribe the popular creed of the Mohammedans, a creed too sublime, perhaps, for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mohammed. His proselytes, from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of Unitarians, and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mohammedans; and they struggle with the common difficulties, how to reconcile the prescience of God with the freedom and responsibility of man; how to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.

The God of nature has written His existence on all His works, and His law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one and the practice of the other has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age. The liberality of Mohammed allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself, and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall

of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. During that period some rays of prophetic light had been imparted to 124,000 of the elect, discriminated by their respective measure of virtue and grace; 313 apostles were sent with a special commission to recall their country from idolatry and vice; 104 volumes have been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and 6 legislators of transcendant brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels. The writings of the patriarchs were extant only in the apocryphal copies of the Greeks and Syrians. The conduct of Adam had not entitled him to the gratitude or respect of his children; the seven precepts of Noah were observed by an inferior and imperfect class of the proselytes of the synagogue; and the memory of Abraham was obscurely revered by the Sabeans in his native land of Chaldea. Of the myriads of prophets, Moses and Christ alone lived and reigned; and the remnant of the inspired writings were comprised in the books of the Old and the New Testament. The miraculous story of Moses is consecrated and embellished in the Koran, and the captive Jews enjoy the secret revenge of imposing their own belief on the nations whose recent creeds they deride. For the Author of Christianity the Mohammedans are taught by the Prophet to entertain a high and mysterious reverence.

"Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word which he conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit proceeding from him; honorable in this world and in the world to come; and one of those who approach near to the presence of God." Yet Jesus was a mere mortal, and at the day of judgment his testimony will serve to condemn both the Jews, who reject him as a prophet, and the Christians, who adore him as the Son of God. The malice of his enemies aspersed his reputation and conspired against his life, but their intention only was guilty; a phantom or criminal was substituted on the cross, and the innocent saint was translated to the seventh heaven. During six hundred years the gospel was the way of truth and salvation; but the Christians insensibly forgot both the laws and the example of their founder, and Mohammed was instructed by the Gnostics to accuse the church as well as the synagogue, of corrupting the integrity of the sacred text. The

piety of Moses and of Christ rejoiced in the assurance of a future prophet, more illustrious than themselves; the evangelic promise of the Paraclete, or Holy Ghost, was prefigured in the name, and accomplished in the person, of Mohammed, the greatest and last of the apostles of God.

The communication of ideas requires a similitude of thought and language. The discourse of a philosopher would vibrate without effect on the ear of a peasant, yet how minute is the distance of their understandings if it be compared with the contact of an infinite and a finite mind, with the word of God expressed by the tongue or the pen of a mortal! The inspiration of the Hebrew prophets, of the apostles and evangelists of Christ, might not be incompatible with the exercise of their reason and memory; and the diversity of their genius is strongly marked in the style and composition of the books of the Old and New Testament. But Mohammed was content with a character more humble, yet more sublime—that of a simple editor. The substance of the Koran, according to himself or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal; subsisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and gems, was brought down to the lowest heaven by the Angel Gabriel, who, under the Jewish economy, had indeed been dispatched on the most important errands; and this trusty messenger successively revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. Instead of a perpetual and perfect measure of the divine will, the fragments of the Koran were produced at the discretion of Mohammed; each revelation is suited to the emergencies of his policy or passion; and all contradiction is removed by the saving maxim that any text of Scripture is abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage. The word of God, and of the Apostle, was diligently recorded by his disciples on palm leaves and the shoulder bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connection, were cast into a domestic chest, in the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mohammed the sacred volume was collected and published by his friend and successor, Abu Bekr. The work was revised by the caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the Hegira, and the various editions of the Koran assert the same miraculous privilege of a uniform and incorruptible text. In the spirt of enthusiasm or vanity the Prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book; audaciously challenges

both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page, and presumes to assert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance. This argument is most powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds, and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius. The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel; he will peruse with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary, but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the Book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language. If the composition of the Koran exceed the faculties of a man, to what superior intelligence should we ascribe the Iliad of Homer, or the Philippics of Demosthenes? In all religions the life of the founder supplies the silence of his written revelation. The sayings of Mohammed were so many lessons of truth, his actions so many examples of virtue, and the public and private memorials were preserved by his wives and companions. At the end of two hundred years the Sunna, or oral law, was fixed and consecrated by the labors of Al Bochari, who discriminated 7275 genuine traditions from a mass of 300,000 reports, of a more doubtful or spurious character. Each day the pious author prayed in the temple of Mecca, and performed his ablutions with the water of Zemzem. The pages were successively deposited on the pulpit and the sepulcher of the Apostle, and the work has been approved by the four orthodox sects of the Sunnites.

The mission of the ancient prophets, of Moses and of Jesus, had been confirmed by many splendid prodigies; and Mohammed was repeatedly urged, by the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, to produce a similar evidence of his divine legation; to call down from heaven the angel or the volume of his revelation, to create a garden in the desert, or to kindle a conflagration in the unbelieving city. As often as he is pressed by the demands of the Koreish he involves himself in the obscure boast of vision and prophecy, appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, and shields himself behind the providence of God, who refuses those signs and wonders that would depreciate the merit of faith and aggravate the guilt of infi-

delity. But the modest or angry tone of his apologies betrays his weakness and vexation, and these passages of scandal established, beyond suspicion, the integrity of the Koran. The votaries of Mohammed are more assured than himself of his miraculous gifts, and their confidence and credulity increase as they are farther removed from the time and place of his spiritual exploits. They believe or affirm that trees went forth to meet him; that he was saluted by stones; that water gushed from his fingers; that he fed the hungry, cured the sick, and raised the dead; that a beam groaned to him; that a camel complained to him; that a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned; and that both animate and inanimate nature were equally subject to the Apostle of God. His dream of a nocturnal journey is seriously described as a real and corporeal transaction. A mysterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem. With his companion, Gabriel, he successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and repaid the salutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven Mohammed alone was permitted to proceed; he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow-shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart, when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. After this familiar, though important, conversation, he again descended to Jerusalem, remounted the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thousand years. According to another legend the Apostle confounded in a national assembly the malicious challenge of the Koreish. His resistless word split asunder the orb of the moon. The obedient planet stooped from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Kaaba, saluted Mohammed in the Arabian tongue, and, suddenly contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve, of his shirt. The vulgar are amused with these marvelous tales, but the gravest of the Mussulman doctors imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation. They might speciously allege that in preaching the religion it was needless to violate the harmony of nature; that a creed unclouded with mystery may be excused from miracles; and that the sword of Mohammed was not less potent than the rod of Moses.

The polytheist is oppressed and distracted by the variety of

superstition. A thousand rites of Egyptian origin were interwoven with the essence of the Mosaic law, and the spirit of the Gospel had evaporated in the pageantry of the church. The Prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotism to sanctify the rites of the Arabians and the custom of visiting the holy stone of the Kaaba. But the precepts of Mohammed himself inculcate a more simple and rational piety. Prayer, fasting, and alms are the religious duties of a Mussulman, and he is encouraged to hope that prayer will carry him halfway to God, fasting will bring him to the door of his palace, and the alms will gain him admittance.

According to the tradition of the nocturnal journey the Apostle, in his personal conference with the Deity, was commanded to impose on his disciples the daily obligation of fifty prayers. By the advice of Moses he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burden, and the number was gradually reduced to five, without any dispensation of business or pleasure, or time or place. The devotion of the faithful is repeated at daybreak, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of the night, and in the present decay of religious fervor travelers are edified by the profound humility and attention of the Turks and Persians. Cleanliness is the key of prayer. The frequent lustration of the hands, the face, and the body, which was practiced of old by the Arabs, is solemnly enjoined by the Koran, and a permission is formally granted to supply with sand the scarcity of water. The words and attitudes of supplication, as it is performed either sitting or standing, or prostrate on the ground, are prescribed by custom or authority; but the prayer is poured forth in short and fervent ejaculations, the measure of zeal not exhausted by a tedious liturgy, and each Mussulman for his own person is invested with the character of a priest. Among the theists, who reject the use of images, it has been found necessary to restrain the wanderings of the fancy by directing the eye and the thought toward a *kebla,* or visible point of the horizon. The Prophet was at first inclined to gratify the Jews by the choice of Jerusalem, but he soon returned to a more natural partiality, and five times every day the eyes of the nations at Astrakhan, at Fez, at Delhi, are devoutly turned to the holy temple of Mecca. Yet every spot for the service of God is equally pure; the Mohammedans indifferently pray in their chamber or in the street. As a distinction from the Jews and Christians, the Friday in each week is set apart for the useful institution of

public worship. The people are assembled in the mosque, and the imam, some respectable elder, ascends the pulpit, to begin the prayer and pronounce the sermon. But the Mohammedan religion is destitute of priesthood or sacrifice, and the independent spirit of fanaticism looks down with contempt on the ministers and the slaves of superstition. The voluntary penance of the ascetics, the torment and glory of their lives, was odious to the Prophet, who censured in his companions a rash vow of abstaining from flesh, and women, and sleep, and firmly declared that he would suffer no monks in his religion. Yet he instituted, in each year, a fast of thirty days; and strenuously recommended the observance as a discipline which purifies the soul and subdues the body as a salutary exercise of obedience to the will of God and his Apostle. During the month of Ramadan, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Mussulman abstains from eating and drinking, and women, and baths, and perfumes; from all nourishment that can restore his strength, from all pleasure that can gratify his senses. In the revolution of the lunar year the Ramadan coincides, by turns, with the winter cold and the summer heat; and the patient martyr, without assuaging his thirst with a drop of water, must expect the close of a tedious and sultry day. The interdiction of wine, peculiar to some orders of priests or hermits, is converted by Mohammed alone into a positive and general law; and a considerable portion of the globe has abjured, at his command, the use of that salutary, though dangerous, liquor. These painful restraints are, doubtless, infringed by the libertine and eluded by the hypocrite; but the legislator, by whom they are enacted, cannot surely be accused of alluring his proselytes by the indulgence of their sensual appetites. The charity of the Mohammedans descends to the animal creation; and the Koran repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as a strict and indispensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate. Mohammed, perhaps, is the only lawgiver who has defined the precise measure of charity: the standard may vary with the degree and nature of property, as it consists either in money, in corn or cattle, in fruits or merchandise, but the Mussulman does not accomplish the law unless he bestows a tenth of his revenue; and if his conscience accuses him of fraud or extortion, the tenth, under the idea of restitution, is enlarged to a fifth. Benevolence is the foundation of justice, since we are forbid to injure those whom we are bound to assist. A prophet may reveal

the secrets of heaven and of futurity, but in his moral precepts he can only repeat the lessons of our own hearts.

The two articles of belief and the four practical duties of Islam are guarded by rewards and punishments, and the faith of the Mussulman is devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment and the last day. The Prophet has not presumed to determine the moment of that awful catastrophe, though he darkly announces the signs, both in heaven and earth, which will precede the universal dissolution, when life shall be destroyed and the order of creation shall be confounded in the primitive chaos. At the blast of the trumpet new worlds will start into being, angels, genii, and men will arise from the dead, and the human soul will again be united to the body. The doctrine of the resurrection was first entertained by the Egyptians, and their mummies were embalmed, their pryamids were constructed, to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing, and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mohammed relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can reanimate the breathless clay and collect the innumerable atoms that no longer retain their form or substance. The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.

The reunion of the soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind; and in his copy of the Magian picture the Prophet has too faithfully represented the forms of proceeding, and even the slow and successive operations, of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerant adversaries he is upbraided for extending, even to themselves, the hope of salvation, for asserting the blackest heresy, that every man who believes in God and accomplishes good works, may expect in the last day a favorable sentence. Such rational indifference is ill-adapted to the character of a fanatic; nor is it probable that a messenger from heaven should depreciate the value and necessity of his own revelation. In the idiom of the Koran, the belief of God is inseparable from that of Mohammed. The good works are those which he has enjoined, and the two qualifications imply the profession of Islam, to which all nations and all sects are equally invited. Their spiritual blindness, though excused by ignorance and crowned with virtue, will be scourged with everlasting torments, and the tears which Mohammed shed over the tomb of his

mother, for whom he was forbidden to pray, display a striking contrast of humanity and enthusiasm. The doom of the infidels is common. The measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained. The eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and idolaters are sunk below each other in the abyss, and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind have been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. The good and evil of each Mussulman will be accurately weighed in a real or allegorical balance, and a singular mode of compensation will be allowed for the payment of injuries. The aggressor will refund an equivalent of his own good actions for the benefit of the person whom he has wronged, and if he should be destitute of any moral property the weight of his sins will be loaded with an adequate share of the demerits of the sufferer. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss; but the innocent, treading in the footsteps of Mohammed, will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells. The term of expiation will vary from nine hundred to seven thousand years, but the Prophet has judiciously promised that all his disciples, whatever may be their sins, shall be saved by their own faith and his intercession from eternal damnation. It is not surprising that superstition should act most powerfully on the fears of her votaries, since the human fancy can paint with more energy the misery than the bliss of a future life. With the two simple elements of darkness and fire we create a sensation of pain, which may be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endless duration. But the same idea operates with an opposite effect on the continuity of pleasure; and too much of our present enjoyments is obtained from the relief, or the comparison, of evil. It is natural enough that an Arabian prophet should dwell with rapture on the groves, the fountains, and the rivers of paradise; but instead of inspiring the blessed inhabitants with a liberal taste for harmony and science, conversation and friendship, he idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants,

and the whole train of sensual and costly luxury, which becomes insipid to the owner, even in the short period of this mortal life. Seventy-two houris, or black-eyed girls, of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquisite sensibility, will be created for the use of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties will be increased a hundred fold, to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice, the gates of heaven will be open to both sexes, but Mohammed has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity, by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage. This image of a carnal paradise has provoked the indignation, perhaps the envy, of the monks. They declaim against the impure religion of Mohammed, and his modest apologists are driven to the poor excuse of figures and allegories. But the sounder and more consistent party adhere, without shame, to the literal interpretation of the Koran. Useless would be the resurrection of the body unless it were restored to the possession and exercise of its worthiest faculties, and the union of sensual and intellectual enjoyment is requisite to complete the happiness of the double animal, the perfect man. Yet the joys of the Mohammedan paradise will not be confined to the indulgence of luxury and appetite, and the Prophet has expressly declared that all meaner happiness will be forgotten and despised by the saints and martyrs, who shall be admitted to the beatitude of the divine vision.

The first and most arduous conquests of Mohammed were those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend; since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Kadijah believed the words, and cherished the glory, of her husband; the obsequious and affectionate Zeid was tempted by the prospect of freedom; the illustrious Ali, the son of Abu Talib, embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero; and the wealth, the moderation, the veracity of Abu Bekr confirmed the religion of the Prophet, whom he was destined to succeed. By his persuasion ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam; they yielded to the voice of reason and enthusiasm; they repeated the fundamental creed, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God"; and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honors, with the

command of armies and the government of kingdoms. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first fruits of his mission; but in the fourth year he assumed the prophetic office and, resolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashim. "Friends and kinsmen," said Mohammed to the assembly, "I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my burden? Who among you will be my companion and my vizier?" No answer was returned, till the silence of astonishment, and doubt, and contempt was at length broken by the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. "O Prophet, I am the man! whosoever rises against thee I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O Prophet, I will be thy vizier over them." Mohammed accepts his offer with transport, and Abu Talib was ironically exhorted to respect the superior dignity of his son. In a more serious tone the father of Ali advised his nephew to relinquish his impracticable design. "Spare your remonstrances," replied the intrepid fanatic to his uncle and benefactor; "if they should place the sun on my right hand, and the moon on my left, they should not divert me from my course." He persevered ten years in the exercise of his mission, and the religion which has overspread the East and West advanced with a slow and painful progress within the walls of Mecca. Yet Mohammed enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding the increase of his infant congregation of Unitarians, who revered him as a prophet, and to whom he seasonably dispensed the spiritual nourishment of the Koran. The number of proselytes may be estimated by the absence of eighty-three men and eighteen women, who retired to Ethiopia in the seventh year of his mission; and his party was fortified by the timely conversion of his uncle, Hamza, and of the fierce and inflexible Omar, who signalized in the cause of Islam the same zeal which he had exerted for its destruction. Nor was the charity of Mohammed confined to the tribe of Koreish, or the precincts of Mecca; on solemn festivals, in the days of pilgrimage, he frequented the Kaaba, accosted the strangers of every tribe, and urged, both in private converse and public discourse, the belief and worship of

a sole Deity. Conscious of his reason and of his weakness, he asserted the liberty of conscience, and disclaimed the use of religious violence. But he called the Arabs to repentance, and conjured them to remember the ancient idolaters of Ad and Thamud, whom the divine justice had swept away from the face of the earth.

The people of Mecca were hardened in their unbelief by superstition and envy. The elders of the city, the uncles of the Prophet, affected to despise the presumption of an orphan, the reformer of his country. The pious orations of Mohammed in the Kaaba were answered by the clamors of Abu Talib. "Citizens and pilgrims, listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his impious novelties. Stand fast in the worship of Al Lata and Al Uzzah." Yet the son of Abdallah was ever dear to the aged chief, and he protected the fame and person of his nephew against the assaults of the Koreishites, who had long been jealous of the preëminence of the family of Hashim. Their malice was colored with the pretense of religion. In the age of Job the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian magistrate, and Mohammed was guilty of deserting and denying the national deities. But so loose was the policy of Mecca, that the leaders of the Koreish, instead of accusing a criminal, were compelled to employ the measures of persuasion or violence. They repeatedly addressed Abu Talib in the style of reproach and menace. "Thy nephew reviles our religion; he accuses our wise forefathers of ignorance and folly; silence him quickly, lest he kindle tumult and discord in the city. If he persevere, we shall draw our swords against him and his adherents, and thou wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens." The weight and moderation of Abu Talib eluded the violence of religious faction, the most helpless or timid of the disciples retired to Ethiopia, and the Prophet withdrew himself to various places of strength in the town and country. As he was still supported by his family, the rest of the tribe of Koreish engaged themselves to renounce all intercourse with the children of Hashim, neither to buy nor sell, to marry nor to give in marriage, but to pursue them with implacable enmity, till they should deliver the person of Mohammed to the justice of the gods. The decree was suspended in the Kaaba before the eyes of the nation, and the messengers of the Koreish pursued the Mussulman exiles in the heart of Africa.

They besieged the Prophet and his most faithful followers, intercepted their water, and inflamed their mutual animosity by the

retaliation of injuries and insults. A doubtful truce restored the appearances of concord till the death of Abu Talib abandoned Mohammed to the powers of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts by the loss of his faithful and generous Kadijah. Abu Sufyan, the chief of the branch of Omayyah, succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. A zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashim, he convened an assembly of the Koreishites and their allies, to decide the fate of the Apostle. His imprisonment might provoke the despair of his enthusiasm, and the exile of an eloquent and popular fanatic would diffuse the mischief through the provinces of Arabia. His death was resolved, and they agreed that a sword from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood, and baffle the vengeance of the Hashimites. An angel or a spy revealed their conspiracy, and flight was the only resource of Mohammed. At the dead of night in 622 A. D., with his friend Abu Bekr, he silently escaped from his house. The assassins watched at the door, but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment of the Apostle. The Koreish respected the piety of the heroic youth, but some verses of Ali which are still extant exhibit an interesting picture of his anxiety, his tenderness, and his religious confidence. Three days Mohammed and his companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca, and in the close of each evening they received from the son and daughter of Abu Bekr a secret supply of intelligence and food. The diligence of the Koreish explored every haunt in the neighborhood of the city. They arrived at the entrance of the cavern, but the providential deceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nest is said to have convinced them that the place was solitary and inviolate. "We are only two," said the trembling Abu Bekr. "There is a third," replied the Prophet; "it is God himself." No sooner was the pursuit abated than the two fugitives issued from the rock, and mounted their camels. On the road to Medina they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish, but redeemed themselves with prayers and promises from their hands. In this eventful moment the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world. The flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina has fixed the memorable era of the Hegira, which, at the end of twelve centuries, still discriminates the lunar years of the Mohammedan nations.

Chapter IV

THE UNION OF ARABIA UNDER MOHAMMED

THE religion of the Koran might have perished in its cradle had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcasts of Mecca. Medina, or the "city," known under the name of Yathreb before it was sanctified by the throne of the Prophet, was divided between the tribes of the Kharegites and the Ausites, whose hereditary feud was rekindled by the slightest provocations. Two colonies of Jews, who boasted a sacerdotal race, were their humble allies, and without converting the Arabs they introduced the taste of science and religion, which distinguished Medina as the city of the Book. Some of her noblest citizens, in a pilgrimage to the Kaaba, were converted by the preaching of Mohammed, and on their return they diffused the belief of God and his Prophet, and the new alliance was ratified by their deputies in two secret and nocturnal interviews on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. In the first, ten Kharegites and two Ausites, united in faith and love, protested, in the name of their wives, their children, and their absent brethren, that they would forever profess the creed and observe the precepts of the Koran. The second was a political association, the first vital spark of the empire of the Saracens. Seventy-three men and two women of Medina held a solemn conference with Mohammed, his kinsmen, and his disciples, and pledged themselves to each other by a mutual oath of fidelity. They promised, in the name of the city, that if he should be banished they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children, "But if you are recalled by your country," they asked, with a flattering anxiety, "will you not abandon your new allies?" "All things," replied Mohammed, with a smile, "are now common between us; your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honor and interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes." "But if we are killed

in your service, what," exclaimed the deputies of Medina, "will be our reward?" "Paradise," replied the Prophet. "Stretch forth thy hand." He stretched it forth, and they reiterated the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimously embraced the profession of Islam; they rejoiced in the exile of the Apostle, but they trembled for his safety and impatiently expected his arrival. After a perilous and rapid journey along the seacoast, he halted at Koba, two miles from the city, and made his public entry into Medina, sixteen days after his flight from Mecca. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet him, and he was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion. Mohammed was mounted on a she-camel, an umbrella shaded his head, and a turban was unfurled before him to supply the deficiency of a standard. His bravest disciples, who had been scattered by the storm, assembled round his person, and the equal, though various, merit of the Moslems was distinguished by the names of "Mohajerians" and "Ansars," the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina. To eradicate the seeds of jealousy Mohammed judiciously coupled his principal followers with the rights and obligations of brethren; and when Ali found himself without a peer, the Prophet tenderly declared that he would be the companion and brother of the noble youth. The expedient was crowned with success; the holy fraternity was respected in peace and war, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity. Once only the concord was slightly ruffled by an accidental quarrel· a patriot of Medina arraigned the insolence of the strangers, but the hint of their expulsion was heard with abhorrence, and his own son most eagerly offered to lay at the Apostle's feet the head of his father.

From his establishment at Medina Mohammed assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office, and it was impious to appeal from a judge whose decrees were inspired by the divine wisdom. A small portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans, was acquired by gift or purchase, and on that chosen spot he built a house and a mosque, more venerable in their rude simplicity than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian monarchs. His seal of gold, or silver, was inscribed with the apostolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly assembly he leaned against the trunk of a palm tree; and it was long before he indulged himself in the use of a chair or pulpit of rough timber. After a

reign of six years fifteen hundred Moslems, in arms and in the field, renewed their oath of allegiance; and their chief repeated the assurance of protection till the death of the last member, or the final dissolution of the party. It was in the same camp that the deputy of Mecca was astonished by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the Prophet, by the eagerness with which they collected his spittle, a hair that dropped on the ground, the refuse water of his lustrations, as if they participated in some degree of the prophetic virtue. "I have seen," said he, "the Chosroes of Persia and the Cæsar of Rome, but never did I behold a king among his subjects like Mohammed among his companions." The devout fervor of enthusiasm acts with more energy and truth than the cold and formal servility of courts.

In the state of nature every man has a right to defend, by force of arms, his person and his possessions; to repel, or even to prevent, the violence of his enemies, and to extend his hostilities to a reasonable measure of satisfaction and retaliation. In the free society of the Arabs the duties of subject and citizen imposed a feeble restraint; and Mohammed, in the exercise of a peaceful and benevolent mission, had been despoiled and banished by the injustice of his countrymen. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive with the rank of a sovereign and he was invested with the just prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging offensive or defensive war. The imperfection of human rights was supplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power: the Prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a fiercer and more sanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakness. The means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The same bloody precepts, so repeatedly inculcated in the Koran, are ascribed by the author to the Pentateuch and the Gospel. But the mild tenor of the evangelic style may explain an ambiguous text that Jesus did not bring peace on the earth, but a sword; his patient and humble virtues should not be confounded with the intolerant zeal of princes and bishops who have disgraced the name of his disciples. In the prosecution of religious war, Mohammed might appeal with more propriety to the example of Moses, of

the judges, and the kings of Israel. The military laws of the Hebrews are still more rigid than those of the Arabian legislator. The Lord of Hosts marched in person before the Jews. If a city resisted their summons, the males, without distinction, were put to the sword: the seven nations of Canaan were devoted to destruction, and neither repentance nor conversion could shield them from the inevitable doom, that no creature within their precincts should be left alive. The fair option of friendship, or submission, or battle was proposed to the enemies of Mohammed. If they professed the creed of Islam they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had embraced. The clemency of the Prophet was decided by his interest; yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy, and he seems to promise that on the payment of a tribute the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign he practiced the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina. The martial Apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges, and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. The Arab continued to unite the professions of a merchant and a robber, and his petty excursions for the defense or the attack of a caravan insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law. The whole was faithfully collected in one common mass: a fifth of the gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the movables and immovables, was reserved by the Prophet for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp. The rewards of the slain devolved to their widows and orphans, and the increase of cavalry was encouraged by the allotment of a double share to the horse and to the man. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder. The Apostle sanctified the license of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines, and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mohammed, "is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer;

whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm. The picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination, and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mohammed advanced to battle with a fearless confidence. There is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their beds, or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.

Perhaps the Koreish would have been content with the flight of Mohammed had they not been provoked and alarmed by the vengeance of an enemy who could intercept their Syrian trade as it passed and repassed through the territory of Medina. Abu Sufyan himself, with only thirty or forty followers, conducted a wealthy caravan of a thousand camels. The fortune or dexterity of his march escaped the vigilance of Mohammed, but the chief of the Koreish was informed that the holy robbers were placed in ambush to await his return. He dispatched a messenger to his brethren of Mecca, and they were roused by the fear of losing their merchandise and their provisions unless they hastened to his relief with the military force of the city. The sacred band of Mohammed was formed of 313 Moslems, of whom 77 were fugitives, and the rest auxiliaries. They mounted by turns a train of 70 camels (the camels of Yathreb were formidable in war), but such was the poverty of his first disciples, that only two could appear on horseback in the field. In the fertile and famous vale of Beder, three stations from Medina, he was informed by his scouts of the caravan that approached on one side; of the Koreish, 100 horse, 850 foot, who advanced on the other. After a short debate he sacrificed the prospect of wealth to the pursuit of glory and revenge; and a slight intrenchment was formed, to cover his troops, and a stream of fresh water that glided through the valley. "O God," he exclaimed, as the numbers of the Koreish descended from the hills,

"O God, if these are destroyed, by whom wilt thou be worshiped on the earth? Courage, my children; close your ranks, discharge your arrows, and the day is your own." At these words he placed himself, with Abu Bekr, on a throne or pulpit, and instantly demanded the succor of Gabriel and three thousand angels. His eye was fixed on the field of battle. The Mussulmans fainted and were pressed, but in that decisive moment the Prophet started from his throne, mounted his horse, and cast a handful of sand into the air: "Let their faces be covered with confusion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice. Their fancy beheld the angelic warriors. The Koreish trembled and fled: seventy of the bravest were slain, and seventy captives adorned the first victory of the faithful. The dead bodies of the Koreish were despoiled and insulted. Two of the most obnoxious prisoners were punished with death, and the ransom of the others, four thousand drachms of silver, compensated in some degree the escape of the caravan. But it was in vain that the camels of Abu Sufyan explored a new road through the desert and along the Euphrates: they were overtaken by the diligence of the Mussulmans, and wealthy must have been the prize if twenty thousand drachms could be set apart for the fifth of the Apostle (624 A. D.). Resentment of the public and private loss stimulated Abu Sufyan to collect a body of 3000 men, 700 of whom were armed with cuirasses, and 200 were mounted on horseback; 3000 camels attended his march, and his wife Hind, and fifteen matrons of Mecca, incessantly sounded their timbrels to animate the troops and to magnify the greatness of Hobal, the most popular deity of the Kaaba. The standard of God and Mohammed was upheld by 950 believers. The disproportion of numbers was not more alarming than in the field of Beder, and their presumption of victory prevailed against the divine and human sense of the Apostle. The second battle was fought on Mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina, in 625. The Koreish advanced in the form of a crescent, and the right wing of cavalry was led by Khalid, the fiercest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mohammed were skillfully posted on the declivity of the hill, and their rear was guarded by a detachment of fifty archers. The weight of their charge impelled and broke the center of the idolaters, but in the pursuit they lost the advantage of their ground, the archers deserted their station, the Mussulmans were tempted by the spoil, disobeyed their general,

and disordered their ranks. The intrepid Khalid, wheeling his calvary on their flank and rear, exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Mohammed was slain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin, two of his teeth being shattered with a stone; yet in the midst of tumult and dismay he reproached the infidels with the murder of a prophet, and blessed the friendly hand that staunched his blood and conveyed him to a place of safety. Seventy martyrs died for the sins of the people. They fell, said the Apostle, in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion; their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca, and the wife of Abu Sufyan tasted the entrails of Hamza, the uncle of Mohammed. They might applaud their superstition and satiate their fury, but the Mussulmans soon rallied in the field, and the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. It was attacked the ensuing year by an army of 10,000 enemies, and this third expedition is variously named from the nations which marched under the banner of Abu Sufyan, from the ditch which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thousand Mussulmans. The prudence of Mohammed declined a general engagement; the valor of Ali was signalized in single combat; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail overturned their tents, their private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary, and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne or to check the conquests of their invincible exile.

The choice of Jerusalem for the first kebla of prayer discovers the early propensity of Mohammed in favor of the Jews; and happy would it have been for their temporal interest had they recognized in the Arabian prophet the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life; and in the double character of an Apostle and a conqueror his persecution was extended to both worlds. The Beni Kainoka dwelt at Medina under the protection of the city; he seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas!" replied the trembling Jews, "we are ignorant of the use of arms, but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defense?" The unequal

conflict was terminated in fifteen days, and it was with extreme reluctance that Mohammed yielded to the importunity of his allies, and consented to spare the lives of the captives. But their riches were confiscated, their arms became more effectual in the hands of the Mussulmans, and about seven hundred wretched exiles were driven, with their wives and children, to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria. The Beni Nadir were more guilty, since they conspired, in a friendly interview, to assassinate the Prophet. He besieged their castle, three miles from Medina, but their resolute defense obtained an honorable capitulation; and the garrison sounding their trumpets and beating their drums, was permitted to depart with the honors of war. The Jews had excited and joined the war of the Koreish. No sooner had the nations retired from the ditch, than Mohammed, without laying aside his armor, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraiza. After a resistance of twenty-five days they surrendered at discretion. They trusted to the intercession of their old allies of Medina; they could not be ignorant that fanaticism obliterates the feelings of humanity. A venerable elder, to whose judgment they appealed, pronounced the sentence of their death. Seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market place of the city, and descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial; and the Apostle beheld with an inflexible eye the slaughter of his helpless enemies. Their sheep and camels were inherited by the Mussulmans. Three hundred cuirasses, five hundred pikes, a thousand lances, composed the most useful portion of the spoil. Six days' journey to the northeast of Medina the ancient and wealthy town of Khaibar was the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia. The territory, a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength. The forces of Mohammed consisted of 200 horse and 1400 foot. In the succession of eight regular and painful sieges they were exposed to danger, and fatigue, and hunger; and the most undaunted chiefs despaired of the event. The Apostle revived their faith and courage by the example of Ali, on whom he bestowed the surname of the Lion of God. Perhaps we may believe that a Hebrew champion of gigantic stature was cloven to the chest by his irresistible scimiter; but we cannot praise the modesty of romance, which represents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a

fortress and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left hand. After the reduction of the castles, in 628, the town of Khaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured, in the presence of Mohammed, to force a confession of his hidden treasure. The industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration; they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for his emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar the Jews of Khaibar were transplanted to Syria, and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.

Five times each day the eyes of Mohammed were turned toward Mecca, and he was urged by the most sacred and powerful motives to revisit, as a conqueror, the city and the temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. The Kaaba was present to his waking and sleeping fancy; and idle dream was translated into vision and prophecy. He unfurled the holy banner, and a rash promise of success too hastily dropped from the lips of the Apostle. His march from Medina to Mecca displayed the peaceful and solemn pomp of a pilgrimage. Seventy camels, chosen and bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van; the sacred territory was respected; and the captives were dismissed without ransom to proclaim his clemency and devotion. But no sooner did Mohammed descend into the plain, within a day's journey of the city, than he exclaimed: "They have clothed themselves with the skins of tigers!" The numbers and resolution of the Koreish opposed his progress, and the roving Arabs of the desert might desert or betray a leader whom they had followed for the hopes of spoil. The intrepid fanatic sank into a cool and cautious politician. He waived in the treaty his title of Apostle of God, concluded with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years, engaged to restore the fugitives of Mecca who should embrace his religion, and stipulated only, for the ensuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend, and remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. A cloud of shame and sorrow hung on the retreat of the Mussulmans, and their disappointment might justly accuse the failure of a prophet who had so often appealed to the evidence of success. The faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the prospect of Mecca, and their swords sheathed, seven times in the footsteps of the Apostle they encompassed the Kaaba. The

Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mohammed, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people were edified by his devotion; the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Khalid and Amru, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry. The power of Mohammed was increased by the submission of the Arabian tribes; ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca; and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily convicted of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march and preserved the secret till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish the design, the approach, and the irresistible force of the enemy. The haughty Abu Sufyan presented the keys of the city, admired the variety of arms and ensigns that passed before him in review; observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom, and confessed, under the scimiter of Omar, that he was the Apostle of the true God. The return of Marius and Scylla was stained with the blood of the Romans; the revenge of Mohammed was stimulated by religious zeal, and his injured followers were eager to execute or to prevent the order of a massacre. Instead of indulging their passions and his own, the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions of Mecca. His troops, in three divisions, marched into the city; eight-and-twenty of the inhabitants were slain by the sword of Khalid; eleven men and six women were proscribed by the sentence of Mohammed; but he blamed the cruelty of his lieutenant, and several of the most obnoxious victims were indebted for their lives to his clemency or contempt. The chiefs of the Koreish were prostrate at his feet. "What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?" "We confide in the generosity of our kinsmen." "And you shall not confide in vain. Begone! you are safe, you are free." The people of Mecca deserved their pardon by the profession of Islam, and after an exile of seven years the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country. But the 360 idols of the Kaaba were ignominiously broken, and the house of God was purified and adorned. As an example to future times, the Apostle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim, and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.

The conquest of Mecca in 630 determined the faith and obedi-

ence of the Arabian tribes, who, according to the vicissitudes of fortune, had obeyed, or disregarded, the eloquence or the arms of the Prophet. Indifference for rites and opinions still marks the character of the Beduins, and they might accept, as loosely as they hold, the doctrine of the Koran. Yet an obstinate remnant still adhered to the religion and liberty of their ancestors, and the war of Honain derived a proper appellation from the idols, whom Mohammed had avowed to destroy, and whom the confederates of Tayef had sworn to defend. Four thousand pagans advanced with secrecy and speed to surprise the conqueror. They pitied and despised the supine negligence of the Koreish, but they depended on the wishes, and perhaps the aid, of a people who had so lately renounced their gods and bowed beneath the yoke of their enemy. The banners of Medina and Mecca were displayed by the Prophet. A crowd of Beduins increased the strength or numbers of the army, and 12,000 Mussulmans entertained a rash and sinful presumption of their invincible strength. They descended without precaution into the valley of Honain, whose heights had been occupied by the archers and slingers of the confederates. Their numbers were oppressed, their discipline was confounded, their courage was appalled, and the Koreish smiled at their impending destruction. The Prophet, on his white mule, was encompassed by the enemies. He attempted to rush against their spears in search of a glorious death, but ten of his faithful companions interposed their weapons and their breasts, three of these falling dead at his feet. "O my brethren," he repeatedly cried, with sorrow and indignation, "I am the son of Abdallah, I am the Apostle of truth! O man, stand fast in the faith! O God, send down thy succor!" His uncle Abbas, who, like the heroes of Homer, excelled in the loudness of his voice, made the valley resound with the recital of the gifts and promises of God. The flying Moslems returned from all sides to the holy standard, and Mohammed observed with pleasure that the furnace was again rekindled. His conduct and example restored the battle, and he animated his victorious troops to inflict a merciless revenge on the authors of their shame. From the field of Honain he marched without delay to the siege of Tayef, sixty miles to the southeast of Mecca, a fortress of strength, whose fertile lands produce the fruits of Syria in the midst of the Arabian desert. A friendly tribe, instructed (I know not how) in the art of sieges, supplied him with

a train of battering rams and military engines, with a body of 500 artificers. But it was in vain that he offered freedom to the slaves of Tayef; that he violated his own laws by the extirpation of the fruit trees; that the ground was opened by the miners; that the breach was assaulted by the troops. After a siege of twenty days the Prophet sounded a retreat, but he retreated with a song of devout triumph, and affected to pray for the repentance and safety of the unbelieving city. The spoil of this fortunate expedition amounted to six thousand captives, twenty-four thousand camels, forty thousand sheep, and four thousand ounces of silver. A tribe who had fought at Honain redeemed their prisoners by the sacrifice of their idols, but Mohammed compensated the loss by resigning to the soldiers his fifth of the plunder, and wished, for their sake, that he possessed as many head of cattle as there were trees in the province of Tehama. Instead of chastising the disaffection of the Koreish, he endeavored to cut out their tongues (his own expression), and to secure their attachment by a superior measure of liberality—Abu Sufyan alone was presented with three hundred camels and twenty ounces of silver, and Mecca was sincerely converted to the profitable religion of the Koran.

The fugitives and auxiliaries complained that they who had borne the burden were neglected in the season of victory. "Alas!" replied their artful leader, "suffer me to conciliate these recent enemies, these doubtful proselytes, by the gift of some perishable goods. To your guard I intrust my life and fortunes. You are the companions of my exile, of my kingdom, of my paradise." He was followed by the deputies of Tayef, who dreaded the repetition of a siege. "Grant us, O Apostle of God! a truce of three years, with the toleration of our ancient worship." "Not a month, not an hour." "Excuse us at least from the obligation of prayer." "Without prayer religion is of no avail." They submitted in silence; their temples were demolished, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. His lieutenants, on the shores of the Red Sea, the Ocean, and the Gulf of Persia, were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful people; and the ambassadors who knelt before the throne of Medina were as numerous (says the Arabian proverb) as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm tree. The nation submitted to the God and scepter of Mohammed, the opprobrious name of tribute was abolished, the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of arms and tithes

were applied to the service of religion, and 114,000 Moslems accompanied the last pilgrimage of the Apostle.

When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war in 628 he entertained, at Emesa, one of the ambassadors of Mohammed, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. On this foundation the zeal of the Arabians has supposed the secret conversion of the Christian emperor: the vanity of the Greeks has feigned a personal visit of the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty a rich domain, and a secure retreat, in the province of Syria. But the friendship of Heraclius and Mohammed was of short continuance. The new religion had inflamed rather than assuaged the rapacious spirit of the Saracens, and the murder of an envoy afforded a decent pretense for invading, with 3000 soldiers, the territory of Palestine that extends eastward of the Jordan. The holy banner was intrusted to Zeid, and such was the discipline or enthusiasm of the rising sect that the noblest chiefs served without reluctance under the slave of the Prophet. In the event of his decease, Jaafar and Abdallah were successively substituted to the command; and if the three should perish in the war the troops were authorized to elect their general. The three leaders were slain in the battle of Muta, the first military action which tried the valor of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid fell, like a soldier, in the foremost ranks. The death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable; he lost his right hand; he shifted the standard to his left; the left was severed from his body; he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps till he was transfixed to the ground with fifty honorable wounds. "Advance," cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place, "advance with confidence; either victory or paradise is our own." The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the falling standard was rescued by Khalid, the proselyte of Mecca; nine swords were broken in his hand, and his valor withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was chosen to command; his skillful evolutions of the ensuing day secured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens, and Khalid is renowned among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious appellation of the "Sword of God." In the pulpit Mohammed described, with prophetic rapture, the crowns of the blessed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature. He was surprised as he wept over

the daughter of Zeid. "What do I see?" said the astonished votary. "You see," replied the Apostle, "a friend who is deploring the loss of his most faithful friend." After the conquest of Mecca the sovereign of Arabia affected to prevent the hostile preparations of Heraclius, and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the enterprise. The Moslems were discouraged. They alleged the want of money, or horses, or provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of the summer. "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant Prophet. He disdained to compel their service; but on his return be admonished the most guilty by an excommunication of fifty days. Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abu Bekr, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; and Mohammed displayed his banner at the head of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot. Painful indeed was the distress of the march; lassitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential winds of the desert; ten men rode by turns on the same camel, and they were reduced to the shameful necessity of drinking the water from the belly of that useful animal. In the mid-way, ten days' journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed near the grove and fountain of Tabuc. Beyond that place Mohammed declined the prosecution of the war. He declared himself satisfied with the peaceful intentions, but was more probably daunted by the martial array of the emperor of the East. But the active and intrepid Khalid spread around the terror of his name, and the Prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea. To his Christian subjects Mohammed readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship. The weakness of their Arabian brethren had restrained them from opposing his ambition, the disciples of Jesus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews, and it was the interest of a conqueror to propose a fair capitulation to the most powerful religion of the earth.

Till the age of sixty-three years the strength of Mohammed was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. His epileptic fits, an absurd calumny of the Greeks, would be an object of pity rather than abhorrence; but he seriously believed that he was poisoned at Khaibar by the revenge of a Jewish female. During four years the health of the Prophet declined, his infirmities in-

creased, but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue or penitence. "If there be any man," said the Apostle from the pulpit, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? Let him proclaim my thoughts in the face of the congregation. Has anyone been despoiled of his goods? The little that I possess shall compensate the principal and the interest of the debt." "Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am entitled to three drachms of silver." Mohammed heard the complaint, satisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death, enfranchised his slaves (seventeen men, as they are named, and eleven women), minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death he regularly performed the function of public prayer. The choice of Abu Bekr to supply his place appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were visibly impaired, he called for pen and ink to write, or, more properly, to dictate, a divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his revelations: a dispute arose in the chamber, whether he should be allowed to supersede the authority of the Koran, and the Prophet was forced to reprove the indecent vehemence of his disciples. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained, in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle and the faith of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favor, of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the Prophet. The request was granted, and Mohammed immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution. His head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives, and he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes toward the roof of the

house, and, with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: "O God! . . . pardon my sins. . . . Yes, . . . I come, . . . among my fellow-citizens on high"; and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. An expedition for the conquest of Syria was stopped by this mournful event. The army halted at the gates of Medina, the chiefs were assembled round their dying master. The city, more especially the house, of the Prophet, was a scene of clamorous sorrow or silent despair; fanaticism alone could suggest a ray of hope and consolation. "How can he be dead, our witness, our intercessor, our mediator, with God? By God he is not dead; like Moses and Jesus, he is wrapped in a holy trance, and speedily will he return to his faithful people." The evidence of sense was disregarded, and Omar, unsheathing his scimiter, threatened to strike off the heads of the infidels who should dare to affirm that the Prophet was no more. The tumult was appeased by the weight and moderation of Abu Bekr. "Is it Mohammed," said he to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of Mohammed, whom you worship? The God of Mohammed liveth forever; but the Apostle was a mortal like ourselves, and, according to his own prediction, he has experienced the common fate of mortality." He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinsman on the same spot on which he expired. Medina has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mohammed, and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way to bow, in voluntary devotion, before the simple tomb of the Prophet.

At the conclusion of the life of Mohammed (he died at Medina, June 8, 632), it may perhaps be expected that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult, and the success uncertain; at the distance of twelve centuries I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious incense; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally apply to the solitary of Mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition. So soon as marriage had raised him above the pressure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and till the age of forty

he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason, and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation, to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestions of the understanding or the fancy would be felt as the inspirations of Heaven; the labor of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God. From enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery. The demon of Socrates affords a memorable instance how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mohammed were those of pure and genuine benevolence; but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims, despise his arguments, and persecute his life; he might forgive his personal adversaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; the stern passions of pride and revenge were kindled in the bosom of Mohammed, and he sighed, like the prophet of Nineveh, for the destruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca and the choice of Medina transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his sword was consecrated by the example of the saints; and the same God who afflicts a sinful world with pestilence and earthquakes might inspire for their conversion or chastisement the valor of his servants. In the exercise of political government he was compelled to abate of the stern rigor of fanaticism, to comply in some measure with the prejudices and passion of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. The use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith; and Mohammed commanded or approved the assassination of the Jews and idolaters who had escaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of such acts the character of Mohammed must have been gradually stained; and the influence of such pernicious habits would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal and social virtues which

are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his sectaries and friends. Of his last years ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect that he secretely smiled (the victorious impostor!) at the enthusiasm of his youth and the credulity of his proselytes. A philosopher will observe that their credulity and his success would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothed by the persuasion that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of positive and moral laws. If he retained any vestige of his native innocence, the sins of Mohammed may be allowed as an evidence of his sincerity. In the support of truth the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a priest, I can surprise a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mohammed that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children, may suspend, or moderate, the censure of the historian.

The good sense of Mohammed despised the pomp of royalty; the Apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family—he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woolen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of a hermit, he observed, without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn occasions he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty; but in his domestic life many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the Prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley bread. He delighted in the taste of milk and honey, but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two sensual enjoyments which his nature required, and his religion did not forbid; and Mohammed affirmed that the fervor of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs, and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity. Their incontinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran; their incestuous alliances were blamed; the boundless license of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights both of bed and

of dowry were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was discouraged, adultery was condemned as a capital offense; and fornication, in either sex, was punished with a hundred stripes. Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legislator; but in his private conduct Mohammed indulged the appetites of a man, and abused the claims of a prophet. The youth, the beauty, the spirit of Ayesha, gave her a superior ascendant; she was beloved and trusted by the Prophet, and after his death the daughter of Abu Bekr was long revered as the mother of the faithful.

During the twenty-four years of the marriage of Mohammed with Kadijah, her youthful husband abstained from the right of polygamy, and the pride or tenderness of the venerable matron was never insulted by the society of a rival. After her death he placed her in the rank of the four perfect women, with the sister of Moses, the mother of Jesus, and Fatima, the best beloved of his daughters. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the insolence of a blooming beauty; "has not God given you a better in her place?" "No, by God," said Mohammed, with an effusion of honest gratitude, "there never can be a better! She believed in me when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world."

In the largest indulgence of polygamy the founder of a religion and empire might aspire to multiply the chances of a numerous posterity and a lineal succession. The hopes of Mohammed were fatally disappointed. The four sons of Kadijah died in their infancy. Mary, his Egyptian concubine, was endeared to him by the birth of Ibrahim. At the end of fifteen months the Prophet wept over his grave; but he sustained with firmness the raillery of his enemies, and checked the adulation or credulity of the Moslems by the assurance that an eclipse of the sun was not occasioned by the death of the infant. Kadijah had likewise given him four daughters, who were married to the most faithful of his disciples; the three eldest died before their father, but Fatima, who possessed his confidence and love, became the wife of her cousin, Ali, and the mother of an illustrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the Apostle of God.

The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to

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Painting by Adam Müller

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the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Talib was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashim and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct, but the husband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father. The Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign, and the two grandsons of the Prophet had often been fondled in his lap, and shown in his pulpit, as the hope of his age and the chief of the youth of paradise. The first of the true believers might aspire to march before them in this world and in the next; and if some were of a graver and more rigid cast, the zeal and virtue of Ali were never outstripped by any recent proselyte. He united the qualifications of a poet, a soldier, and a saint: his wisdom still breathes in a collection of moral and religious sayings; and every antagonist in the combats of the tongue or of the sword was subdued by his eloquence and valor. From the first hour of his mission to the last rites of his funeral the Apostle was never forsaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses. The son of Abu Talib was afterward reproached for neglecting to secure his interest by a solemn declaration of his right, which would have silenced all competition, and sealed his succession by the decrees of Heaven. But the unsuspecting hero confided in himself. The jealousy of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might suspend the resolutions of Mohammed, and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Bekr, and the enemy of Ali.

Chapter V

MOHAMMED'S SUCCESSORS AND THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

THE silence and death of the Prophet in 632 restored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali were offensive to an aristocracy of elders desirous of bestowing and resuming the scepter by a free and frequent election. The Koreish could never be reconciled to the proud preëminence of the line of Hashim; the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled, the fugitives of Mecca and the auxiliaries of Medina asserted their respective merits, and the rash proposal of choosing two independent caliphs would have crushed in their infancy the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disinterested resolution of Omar, who, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abu Bekr. The urgency of the moment and the acquiescence of the people might excuse this illegal and precipitate measure, but Omar himself confessed from the pulpit that if any Mussulman should hereafter presume to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren, both the elector and the elected would be worthy of death. After the simple inauguration of Abu Bekr he was obeyed in Medina, Mecca, and the provinces of Arabia: the Hashimites alone declined the oath of fidelity, and their chief, in his own house, maintained, above six months, a sullen and independent reserve, without listening to the threats of Omar, who attempted to consume with fire the habitation of the daughter of the Apostle.

The death of Fatima and the decline of his party subdued the indignant spirit of Ali; he condescended to salute the commander of the faithful, accepted his excuse of the necessity of preventing their common enemies, and wisely rejected his courteous offer of abdicating the government of the Arabians. After a reign of two years, in 634, the aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death.

In his testament, with the tacit approbation of his companions, he bequeathed the scepter to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. "I have no occasion," said the modest candidate, "for the place." "But the place has occasion for you," replied Abu Bekr, who expired with a fervent prayer that the God of Mohammed would ratify his choice and direct the Mussulmans in the way of concord and obedience. The prayer was not ineffectual, since Ali himself, in a life of privacy and prayer, professed to revere the superior worth and dignity of his rival, who comforted him for the loss of empire by the most flattering marks of confidence and esteem. In the eleventh year of his reign Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin. He rejected with equal impartiality the names of his son and of Ali, refused to load his conscience with the sins of his successor, and devolved on six of the most respectable companions the arduous task of electing a commander of the faithful. On this occasion Ali was again blamed by his friends for submitting his right to the judgment of men, for recognizing their jurisdiction by accepting a place among the six electors. He might have obtained their suffrage had he deigned to promise a strict and servile conformity, not only to the Koran and tradition. but likewise to the determinations of two seniors. With these limitations, Othman, the secretary of Mohammed, accepted the government in 644; nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years after the death of the Prophet, that Ali was invested, by the popular choice, with the regal and sacerdotal office (656). The manners of the Arabians retained their primitive simplicity, and the son of Abu Talib despised the pomp and vanity of this world. At the hour of prayer he repaired to the mosque of Medina clothed in a thin cotton gown, a coarse turban on his head, his slippers in one hand, and his bow in the other, instead of a walking staff. The companions of the Prophet and the chiefs of the tribes saluted their new sovereign, and gave him their right hands as a sign of fealty and allegiance.

The mischiefs that flow from the contests of ambition are usually confined to the times and countries in which they have been agitated. But the religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immortal hatred of the Persians and Turks. The former, who are branded with the appellation of "Shiites," or sectaries, have enriched the Mohammedan creed with a new article of faith; and if Mohammed be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of

God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of imam and caliph; and the name of Omar expresses in their tongue the perfect accomplishment of wickedness and impiety. The "Sunnites," who are supported by the general consent and orthodox tradition of the Mussulmans, entertain a more impartial, or at least a more decent, opinion. They respect the memory of Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy and legitimate successors of the Prophet. But they assign the last and most humble place to the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of sanctity. An historian who balances the four caliphs with a hand unshaken by superstition will calmly pronounce that their manners were alike pure and exemplary, and their zeal was fervent and probably sincere, and that, in the midst of riches and power, their lives were devoted to the practice of moral and religious duties. But the public virtues of Abu Bekr and Omar, the prudence of the first, the severity of the second, maintained the peace and prosperity of their reigns. The feeble temper and declining age of Othman were incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and empire. He chose, and he was deceived; he trusted, and he was betrayed: the most deserving of the faithful became useless or hostile to his government, and his lavish bounty was productive only of ingratitude and discontent.

The spirit of discord arose in the provinces: their deputies assembled at Medina, and the Kharegites, the desperate fanatics who disclaimed the yoke of subordination and reason, were confounded among the free-born Arabs, who demanded the redress of their wrongs and the punishment of their oppressors. From Cufa, from Bassora, from Egypt, from the tribes of the desert, they rose in arms, encamped about a league from Medina, and dispatched a haughty mandate to their sovereign, requiring him to execute justice or to descend from the throne. His repentance began to disarm and disperse the insurgents; but their fury was rekindled by the arts of his enemies, and the forgery of a perfidious secretary was contrived to blast his reputation and precipitate his fall. The caliph had lost the only guard of his predecessors, the esteem and confidence of the Moslems, and during a siege of six weeks his water and provisions were intercepted and the feeble gates of the palace were protected only by the scruples of the more timorous rebels. Forsaken by those who had abused his simplicity, the hopeless and

venerable caliph expected the approach of death: the brother of Ayesha marched at the head of the assassins, and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, was pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous anarchy of five days was appeased by the inauguration of Ali: his refusal would have provoked a general massacre. In this painful situation he supported the becoming pride of the chief of the Hashimites, declared that he had rather serve than reign, rebuked the presumption of the strangers, and required the formal, if not the voluntary, assent of the chiefs of the nation. He has never been accused of prompting the assassin of Omar, though Persia indiscreetly celebrates the festival of that holy martyr. The quarrel between Othman and his subjects was assuaged by the early mediation of Ali; and Hassan, the eldest of his sons, was insulted and wounded in the defense of the caliph. Yet it is doubtful whether the father of Hassan was strenuous and sincere in his opposition to the rebels; and it is certain that he enjoyed the benefit of their crime. The temptation was indeed of such magnitude as might stagger and corrupt the most obdurate virtue. The ambitious candidate no longer aspired to the barren scepter of Arabia—the Saracens had been victorious in the East and West—and the wealthy kingdoms of Persia, Syria, and Egypt were the patrimony of the commander of the faithful.

A life of prayer and contemplation had not chilled the martial activity of Ali; but in a mature age, after a long experience of mankind, he still betrayed in his conduct the rashness and indiscretion of youth. In the first days of his reign he neglected to secure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubtful allegiance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the most powerful of the Arabian chiefs. They escaped from Medina to Mecca, and from there to Bassora, erected the standard of revolt, and usurped the government of Irak, or Babylonia, which they had vainly solicited as the reward of their services. The mask of patriotism is allowed to cover the most glaring inconsistencies, and the enemies, perhaps the assassins, of Othman now demanded vengeance for his blood. They were accompanied in their flight by Ayesha, the widow of the Prophet, who cherished, to the last hour of her life, an implacable hatred against the husband and the posterity of Fatima. The most reasonable Moslems were scandalized that the mother of the faithful should expose in a camp her person and character; but the superstitious crowd was confident that her presence would sanctify the justice, and assure the success, of their

cause. At the head of 20,000 of his loyal Arabs, and 9000 valiant auxiliaries of Cufa, the caliph encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Bassora. Their leaders, Telha and Zobeir, were slain in the first battle that stained with civil blood the arms of the Moslems. After passing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayesha had chosen her post amid the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action seventy men who held the bridle of her camel were successively killed or wounded, and the cage or litter in which she sat was stuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive sustained with firmness the reproaches of the conqueror, and was speedily dismissed to her proper station at the tomb of Mohammed, with the respect and tenderness that was still due to the widow of the Apostle.

After this victory, which was designated as the Day of the Camel, Ali marched against a more formidable adversary; against Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sufyan, who had assumed the title of caliph, and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest of the house of Omayyah. From the passage of Thapsacus the plain of Siffin extends along the western bank of the Euphrates. On this spacious and level theater the two competitors waged a desultory war of 110 days. In the course of ninety actions or skirmishes the loss of Ali was estimated at twenty-five, that of Moawiyah at forty-five, thousand soldiers; and the list of the slain was dignified with the names of five-and-twenty veterans who had fought at Beder under the standard of Mohammed. In this sanguinary contest the lawful caliph displayed a superior character of valor and humanity. His troops were strictly enjoined to await the first onset of the enemy, to spare their flying brethren, and to respect the bodies of the dead and the chastity of the female captives. He generously proposed to save the blood of the Moslems by a single combat; but his trembling rival declined the challenge as a sentence of inevitable death. The ranks of the Syrians were broken by the charge of a hero who was mounted on a piebald horse, and wielded with irresistible force his ponderous and two-edged sword. As often as he smote a rebel he shouted the Allah Akbar, "God is victorious!" and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle he was heard to repeat four hundred times that tremendous exclamation. The prince of Damascus already meditated his flight, but the certain victory was snatched from the grasp of Ali

by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops. Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Moawiyah exposed on the foremost lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a disgraceful truce and an insidious compromise. He retreated with sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces of Persia, of Yemen, and of Egypt were subdued or seduced by his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism, which was aimed against the three chiefs of the nation, was fatal only to the cousin of Mohammed. In the temple of Mecca three Kharegites or enthusiasts discoursed of the disorders of the church and state; they soon agreed that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amru, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore the peace and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim, poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly repaired to the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate; but the first mistook the person of Amru, and stabbed the deputy who occupied his seat; the prince of Damascus was dangerously hurt by the second; the lawful caliph, in the mosque of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the sixty-third year of his age in 661, and mercifully recommended to his children that they would dispatch the murderer by a single stroke. The sepulcher of Ali was concealed from the tyrants of the house of Omayyah, but in the fourth age of the Hegira a tomb, a temple, a city, arose near the ruins of Cufa. Many thousands of the Shiites repose in holy ground at the feet of the vicar of God, and the desert is vivified by the numerous and annual visits of the Persians, who esteem their devotion not less meritorious than the pilgrimage of Mecca.

The persecutors of Mohammed usurped the inheritance of his children; and the champions of idolatry became the supreme heads of his religion and empire. The opposition of Abu Sufyan had been fierce and obstinate; his conversion was tardy and reluctant; his new faith was fortified by necessity and interest; he served, he fought, perhaps he believed, and the sins of the time of ignorance were atoned for by the later merits of the family of Omayyah. Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sufyan, and of the cruel Hind, was dignified in his early youth with the office or title of secretary of the Prophet; the judgment of Omar intrusted him with the government of Syria, and he administered that important province above forty years, either in a subordinate or supreme rank. With-

out renouncing the fame of valor and liberality, he affected the reputation of humanity and moderation: a grateful people was attached to their benefactor, and the victorious Moslems were enriched with the spoils of Cyprus and Rhodes. The sacred duty of pursuing the assassins of Othman was the engine and pretense of his ambition. The bloody shirt of the martyr was exposed in the mosque of Damascus; the emir deplored the fate of his injured kinsman, and 60,000 Syrians were engaged in his service by an oath of fidelity and revenge. Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, himself an army, was the first who saluted the new monarch and divulged the dangerous secret that the Arabian caliphs might be created elsewhere than in the city of the Prophet. The policy of Moawiyah eluded the valor of his rival, and, after the death of Ali, he negotiated the abdication of his son Hassan, whose mind was either above or below the government of the world, and who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The aspiring wishes of the caliph were finally crowned by the important change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fanaticism attested the reluctance of the Arabs, and four citizens of Medina refused the oath of fidelity; but the designs of Moawiyah were conducted with vigor and address, and his son Yezid, a feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed as the commander of the faithful and the successor of the Apostle of God.

A familiar story is related of the benevolence of one of the sons of Ali. In serving at table a slave had inadvertently dropped a dish of scalding broth on his master: the heedless wretch fell prostrate, to deprecate his punishment, and repeated a verse of the Koran: "Paradise is for those who command their anger." "I am not angry." "And for those who pardon offenses." "I pardon your offense." "And for those who return good for evil." "I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver." With an equal measure of piety, Hosein, the younger brother of Hassan, inherited a remnant of his father's spirit, and served with honor against the Christians in the siege of Constantinople. The primogeniture of the line of Hashim, and the holy character of grandson of the Apostle, had centered in his person, and he was at liberty to prosecute his claim against Yezid, the tyrant of Damascus, whose vices he despised and whose title he had never deigned to acknowledge. A list was secretly transmitted from

Cufa to Medina, of 140,000 Moslems who professed their attachment to his cause and who were eager to draw their swords so soon as he should appear on the banks of the Euphrates. Against the advice of his wisest friends, he resolved to trust his person and family in the hands of a perfidious people. He traversed the desert of Arabia with a timorous retinue of women and children, but as he approached the confines of Irak he was alarmed by the solitary or hostile face of the country, and suspected either the defection or ruin of his party. His fears were just. Obaid Allah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguished the first sparks of an insurrection, and Hosein, in the plain of Kerbela, was encompassed by a body of 5000 horse, who intercepted his communication with the city and the river. He might still have escaped to a fortress in the desert, that had defied the power of Cæsar and Chosroes, and confided in the fidelity of the tribe of Tai, which would have armed 10,000 warriors in his defense. In a conference with the chief of the enemy he proposed the option of three honorable conditions: that he should be allowed to return to Medina, or be stationed in a frontier garrison against the Turks, or safely be conducted to the presence of Yezid. But the commands of the caliph, or his lieutenant, were stern and absolute; and Hosein was informed that he must either submit as a captive and a criminal to the commander of the faithful, or expect the consequences of his rebellion.

"Do you think," replied he, "to terrify me with death?" And during the short respite of a night he prepared with calm and solemn resignation to encounter his fate. He checked the lamentations of his sister Fatima, who deplored the impending ruin of his house. "Our trust," said Hosein, "is in God alone. All things, both in heaven and earth, must perish and return to their Creator. My brother, my father, my mother, were better than me, and every Mussulman has an example in the Prophet."

He pressed his friends to secure safety by a timely flight; they unanimously refused to desert or survive their beloved master; and their courage was fortified by a fervent prayer and the assurance of paradise. On the morning of the fatal day he mounted on horseback, with his sword in one hand and the Koran in the other: his generous band of martyrs consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot; but their flanks and rear were secured by the tent-ropes, and by a deep trench which they had filled with lighted

fagots, according to the practice of the Arabs. The enemy advanced with reluctance, and one of their chiefs deserted, with thirty followers, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. In every close onset or single combat the despair of the Fatimites was invincible; but the surrounding multitudes galled them from a distance with a cloud of arrows, and the horses and men were successively slain. A truce was allowed on both sides for the hour of prayer, and the battle at length expired by the death of the last companions of Hosein. Alone, weary, and wounded, he seated himself at the door of his tent. As he tasted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart; and his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven; they were full of blood; and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a transport of despair his sister issued from the tent and adjured the general of the Cufians that he would not suffer Hosein to be murdered before his eyes; a tear trickled down his venerable beard, and the boldest of his soldiers fell back on every side as the dying hero threw himself among them. The remorseless Shamer, a name detested by the faithful, reproached their cowardice; and the grandson of Mohammed was slain with three-and-thirty strokes of lances and swords. After they had trampled on his body, they carried his head to the castle of Cufa, and the inhuman Obaid Allah struck him on the mouth with a cane. "Alas," exclaimed an aged Mussulman, "on these lips have I seen the lips of the Apostle of God!" In a distant age and climate the tragic scene of the death of Hosein will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader. On the annual festival of his martyrdom, in the devout pilgrimage to his sepulcher, his Persian votaries abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.

When the sisters and children of Ali were brought in chains to the throne of Damascus, the caliph was advised to extirpate the enmity of a popular and hostile race whom he had injured beyond the hope of reconciliation. But Yezid preferred the councils of mercy; and the mourning family was honorably dismissed to mingle their tears with their kindred at Medina. The glory of martyrdom superseded the right of primogeniture, and the twelve imams, or pontiffs, of the Persian creed, are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation. Without arms, or treasures, or subjects they successively enjoyed

the veneration of the people and provoked the jealousy of the reigning caliphs; their tombs, at Mecca or Medina, on the banks of the Euphrates, or in the province of Khorasan, are still visited by the devotion of their sect. Their names were often the pretense of sedition and civil war, but these royal saints despised the pomp of the world, submitted to the will of God and the injustice of man, and devoted their innocent lives to the study and practice of religion. The twelfth and last of the imams, known by the title of "Mahdi," or the divinely guided, surpassed the solitude and sanctity of his predecessors. He concealed himself in a cavern near Bagdad; the time and place of his death are unknown; and his votaries pretend that he still lives and will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tryanny of Dejal, or the Antichrist. In the lapse of two or three centuries the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, had multiplied to the number of 33,000. The race of Ali might be equally prolific; the meanest individual was above the first and greatest of princes, and the most eminent were supposed to excel the perfection of angels. But their adverse fortune and the wide extent of the Mussulman empire allowed an ample scope for every bold and artful impostor who claimed affinity with the holy seed; the scepter of the Almohades, in Spain and Africa; of the Fatimites, in Egypt and Syria; of the sultans of Yemen; and of the Sufees of Persia; has been consecrated by this vague and ambiguous title. Under their reigns it might be dangerous to dispute the legitimacy of their birth; and one of the Fatimite caliphs silenced an indiscreet question by drawing his scimiter: "This," said Moez, "is my pedigree; and these"—casting a handful of gold to his soldiers—"and these are my kindred and my children." In the various conditions of princes, or doctors, or nobles, or merchants, or beggars, a swarm of the genuine or fictitious descendants of Mohammed and Ali is honored with the appellation of sheiks, or sherifs, or emirs. In the Ottoman empire they are distinguished by a green turban, receive a stipend from the treasury, are judged only by their chief, and, however debased by fortune or character, still assert the proud preëminence of their birth. A family of three hundred persons, the pure and orthodox branch of the Caliph Hassan, is preserved without taint or suspicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and still retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the custody of the temple and the sovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mo-

hammed would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreish transcends the recent majesty of the kings of the earth.

The talents of Mohammed are entitled to our applause, but his success has, perhaps, too strongly attracted our admiration. Are we surprised that a multitude of proselytes should embrace the doctrine and the passions of an eloquent fanatic? In the heresies of the church the same seduction has been tried and repeated from the time of the apostles to that of the reformers. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the scepter, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms? In the moving picture of the dynasties of the East a hundred fortunate usurpers have arisen from a baser origin, surmounted more formidable obstacles, and filled a larger scope of empire and conquest. Mohammed was alike instructed to preach and to fight; and the union of these opposite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his success. The operation of force and persuasion, of enthusiasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irresistible power. His voice invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling passions in this world and the other. The restraints which he imposed were requisite to establish the credit of the Prophet, and to exercise the obedience of the people; and the only objection to his success was his rational creed of the unity and perfections of God. It is not the propagation, but the permanency of his religion, that deserves our wonder: the same pure and perfect impression which he engraved at Mecca and Medina is preserved, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, by the Indian, the African, and the Turkish proselytes of the Koran.

The Mohammedans have uniformly withstood the temptation of reducing the object of their faith and devotion to a level with the senses and imagination of man. "I believe in one God, and Mohammed the Apostle of God," is the simple and invariable profession of Islam. The intellectual image of the Deity has never been degraded by any visible idol; the honors of the Prophet have never transgressed the measure of human virtue; and his living precepts have restrained the gratitude of his disciples within the bounds of reason and religion. The votaries of Ali have, indeed, consecrated the memory of their hero, his wife, and his children; and some of the Persian doctors pretend that the divine essence was

incarnate in the person of the imams; but their superstition is universally condemned by the Sunnites, and their impiety has afforded a seasonable warning against the worship of saints and martyrs. The metaphysical questions on the attributes of God and the liberty of man have been agitated in the schools of the Mohammedans, as well as in those of the Christians, but among the former they have never engaged the passions of the people or disturbed the tranquillity of the state. The cause of this important difference may be found in the separation or union of the regal and sacerdotal characters. It was the interest of the caliphs, the successors of the Prophet and commanders of the faithful, to repress and discourage all religious innovations. The order, the discipline, the temporal and spiritual ambition of the clergy are unknown to the Moslems, and the sages of the law are the guides of their conscience and the oracles of their faith. From the Atlantic to the Ganges the Koran is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology, but of civil and criminal jurisprudence; and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind are guarded by the infallible and immutable sanction of the will of God. This religious servitude is attended with some practical disadvantage; the illiterate legislator had been often misled by his own prejudices and those of his country, and the institutions of the Arabian desert may be ill-adapted to the wealth and numbers of Ispahan and Constantinople. On these occasions the cadi respectfully places on his head the holy volume and substitutes a dexterous interpretation more apposite to the principles of equity and the manners and policy of the times.

His beneficial or pernicious influence on the public happiness is the last consideration in the character of Mohammed. The most bitter or most bigoted of his Christian or Jewish foes will surely allow that he assumed a false commission to inculcate a salutary doctrine, less perfect only than their own. He piously supposed, as the basis of his religion, the truth and sanctity of their prior revelations, the virtues and miracles of their founders. The idols of Arabia were broken before the throne of God; the blood of human victims was expiated by prayer, and fasting, and alms, the laudable or innocent arts of devotion; and his rewards and punishments of a future life were painted by the images most congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation. Mohammed was, perhaps, incapable of dictating a moral and political system for the use of his

countrymen; but he breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practice of the social virtues, and checked, by his laws and precepts, the thirst of revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans. The hostile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valor which had been idly spent in domestic quarrels was vigorously directed against a foreign enemy. Had the impulse been less powerful, Arabia, free at home and formidable abroad, might have flourished under a succession of her native monarchs. Her sovereignty was lost by the extent and rapidity of conquest. The colonies of the nation were scattered over the East and West, and their blood was mingled with the blood of their converts and captives. After the reign of three caliphs the throne was transported from Medina to the valley of Damascus and the banks of the Tigris; the holy cities were violated by impious war; Arabia was ruled by the rod of a subject, perhaps of a stranger; and the Beduins of the desert, awakening from their dream of dominion, resumed their old and solitary independence.

The revolution of Arabia had not changed the character of the Arabs. The death of Mohammed was the signal of independence, and the hasty structure of his power and religion tottered to its foundations. A small and faithful band of his primitive disciples had listened to his eloquence, and shared his distress; had fled with the Apostle from the persecution of Mecca, or had received the fugitive in the walls of Medina. The increasing myriads who acknowledged Mohammed as their king and Prophet had been compelled by his arms or allured by his prosperity. The polytheists were confounded by the simple idea of a solitary and invisible God; the pride of the Christians and Jews disdained the yoke of a mortal and contemporary legislator. Their habits of faith and obedience were not sufficiently confirmed, and many of the new converts regretted the venerable antiquity of the law of Moses, or the rites and mysteries of the Catholic Church, or the idols, the sacrifices, the joyous festivals of their pagan ancestors. The jarring interests and hereditary feuds of the Arabian tribes had not yet coalesced in a system of union and subordination, and the barbarians were impatient of the mildest and most salutary laws that curbed their passions or violated their customs. They submitted with reluctance to the religious precepts of the Koran, the abstinence from wine, the fast of the Ramadan, and the daily

repetition of five prayers; and the alms and tithes, which were collected for the treasury of Medina, could be distinguished only by a name from the payment of a perpetual and ignominious tribute.

The example of Mohammed had excited a spirit of fanaticism or imposture, and several rivals presumed to imitate the conduct, and defy the authority, of the living Prophet. At the head of the fugitives and auxiliaries the first caliph was reduced to the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef, and perhaps the Koreish would have restored the idols of the Kaaba if their levity had not been checked by a seasonable reproof. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace, and the first to abandon, the religion of Islam?" After exhorting the Moslems to confide in the aid of God and his Apostle, in 632 Abu Bekr resolved by a vigorous attack to prevent the junction of the rebels. The women and children were safely lodged in the cavities of the mountains; the warriors, marching under eleven banners, diffused the terror of their arms; and the appearance of a military force revived and confirmed the loyalty of the faithful. The inconstant tribes accepted with humble repentance the duties of prayer, and fasting, and alms; and after some examples of success and severity the most daring apostates fell prostrate before the sword of the Lord and of Khalid. In the fertile province of Yemanah, between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia, in a city not inferior to Medina itself, a powerful chief (his name was Moseilama) had assumed the character of a prophet, and the tribe of Hanifa listened to his voice. A female prophetess was attracted by his reputation; the decencies of words and actions were spurned by these favorites of Heaven; and they employed several days in mystic and amorous converse. An obscure sentence of his Koran, or book, is yet extant; and in the pride of his mission Moseilama condescended to offer a partition of the earth. The proposal was answered by Mohammed with contempt, but the rapid progress of the impostor awakened the fears of his successor. Forty thousand Moslems were soon assembled under the standard of Khalid, and the existence of their faith was resigned to the event of a decisive battle. In the first action they were repulsed with the loss of 1200 men; but the skill and perseverance of their general prevailed. Their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of 10,000 infidels, and Moseilama himself was pierced by an Ethiopian slave with the same javelin that had mortally wounded the uncle of Mohammed. The various rebels of Arabia,

without a chief or a cause, were speedily suppressed by the power and discipline of the rising monarchy, and the whole nation again professed, and more steadfastly held, the religion of the Koran. The ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exercise for the restless spirit of the Saracens. Their valor was united in the prosecution of a holy war, and their enthusiasm was equally confirmed by opposition and victory.

From the rapid conquests of the Saracens a presumption will naturally arise that the caliphs commanded in person the armies of the faithful and sought the crown of martyrdom in the foremost ranks of the battle. The courage of Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othman had indeed been tried in the persecution and wars of the Prophet, and the personal assurance of paradise must have taught them to despise the pleasures and dangers of the present world. But they ascended the throne in a venerable or mature age, and esteemed the domestic cares of religion and justice the most important duties of a sovereign. Except the presence of Omar at the siege of Jerusalem, their longest expeditions were the frequent pilgrimages from Medina to Mecca; and they calmly received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preached before the sepulcher of the Prophet. The austere and frugal measure of their lives was the effect of virtue or habit, and the pride of their simplicity insulted the vain magnificence of the kings of the earth. When Abu Bekr assumed the office of caliph he enjoined his daughter Ayesha to take a strict account of his private patrimony, that it might be evident whether he were enriched or impoverished by the service of the state. He thought himself entitled to a stipend of three pieces of gold, with the sufficient maintenance of a single camel and a black slave; but on the Friday of each week he distributed the residue of his own and the public money, first to the most worthy, and then to the most indigent, of the Moslems. The remains of his wealth, a coarse garment and five pieces of gold, were delivered to his successor, who lamented with a modest sigh his own inability to equal such an admirable model. Yet the abstinence and humility of Omar were not inferior to the virtues of Abu Bekr. His food consisted of barley bread or dates, his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places, and a Persian satrap, who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosque of Medina.

Economy is the source of liberality, and the increase of the revenue enabled Omar to establish a just and perpetual reward for the past and present services of the faithful. Careless of his own emolument, he assigned to Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, the first and most ample allowance of twenty-five thousand drachms or pieces of silver. Five thousand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the relics of the field of Beder, and the last and meanest of the companions of Mohammed was distinguished by the annual reward of three thousand pieces. One thousand was the stipend of the veterans who had fought in the first battles against the Greeks and Persians, and the decreasing pay, as low as fifty pieces of silver, was adapted to the respective merit and seniority of the soldiers of Omar. Under his reign, and that of his predecessor, the conquerors of the East were the trusty servants of God and the people; the mass of the public treasure was consecrated to the expenses of peace and war; a prudent mixture of justice and bounty maintained the discipline of the Saracens, and they united, by a rare felicity, the dispatch and execution of despotism with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government. The heroic courage of Ali, the consummate prudence of Moawiyah, excited the emulation of their subjects; and the talents which had been exercised in the school of civil discord were more usefully applied to propagate the faith and dominion of the Prophet. In the sloth and vanity of the palace of Damascus the succeeding princes of the house of Ommiyah were alike destitute of the qualifications of statesmen and of saints. Yet the spoils of unknown nations were continually laid at the foot of their throne, and the uniform ascent of the Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation rather than the abilities of their chiefs. A large deduction must be allowed for the weakness of their enemies. The birth of Mohammed was fortunately placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the barbarians of Europe. The empires of Trajan, or even of Constantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens, and the torrent of fanaticism might have been obscurely lost in the sands of Arabia.

In the victorious days of the Roman republic it had been the aim of the senate to confine their councils and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy

were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigor and success they invaded the successors of Augustus and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, from 634 to 644, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and raised fourteen hundred mosques for the exercise of the religion of Mohammed. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over various and distant provinces, comprising Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain. Under this general division I shall proceed to unfold these memorable transactions, dispatching with brevity the remote and less interesting conquests of the East and reserving a fuller narrative for those domestic countries which had been included within the pale of the Roman Empire. Yet I must excuse my own defects by a just complaint of the blindness and insufficiency of my guides. The Greeks, so loquacious in controversy, have not been anxious to celebrate the triumphs of their enemies. After a century of ignorance, the first annals of the Mussulmans were collected in a great measure from the voice of tradition. Among the numerous productions of Arabic and Persian literature, our interpreters have selected the imperfect sketches of a more recent age. The art and genius of history have ever been unknown to the Asiatics; they are ignorant of the laws of criticism.

Chapter VI

THE MOSLEM CONQUEST OF PERSIA AND SYRIA

IN the first year of the first caliph, Abu Bekr, his lieutenant, Khalid, the Sword of God, and the scourge of the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates and reduced the cities of Anbar and Hira. Westward of the ruins of Babylon a tribe of sedentary Arabs had fixed themselves on the verge of the desert, and Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion, and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of the throne of Persia. The last of the Mondars was defeated and slain by Khalid; his son was sent a captive to Medina, his nobles bowed before the successor of the Prophet; the people were tempted by the example and success of their countrymen, and the caliph accepted as the first fruits of foreign conquest an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold. The conquerors, and even their historians, were astonished by the dawn of their future greatness. "In the same year," says Elmakin, "Khalid fought many signal battles; an immense multitude of the infidels were slaughtered, and spoils infinite and innumerable were acquired by the victorious Moslems." But the invincible Khalid was soon transferred to the Syrian war. The invasion of the Persian frontier was conducted by less active or less prudent commanders, the Saracens being repulsed with loss in the passage of the Euphrates, and though they chastised the insolent pursuit of the Magians, their remaining forces still hovered in the desert of Babylon.

The indignation and fears of the Persians suspended for a moment their intestine divisions. By the unanimous sentence of the priests and nobles their queen, Arzema, was deposed—the sixth of the transient usurpers who had arisen and vanished in three or four years since the death of Chosroes and the retreat of Heraclius. Her tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes, and the same era which coincides with an astronomical period has recorded the fall of the Sassanian dynasty and the re-

ligion of Zoroaster. The youth and inexperience of the prince (he was only fifteen years of age) declined a perilous encounter: the royal standard was delivered into the hands of his general, Rustam, and a remnant of 30,000 regular troops was swelled in truth, or in opinion, to 120,000 subjects, or allies, of the great king. The Moslems, whose numbers were reinforced from 12,000 to 30,000, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadesia, and their line, though it consisted of fewer men, could produce more soldiers than the unwieldy host of the infidels. I shall here observe, what I must often repeat, that the charge of the Arabs was not, like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry. Their military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers, and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, might be protracted without any decisive event to the continuance of several days. The periods of the battle of Cadesia, in 636, were distinguished by their appellations. The first, from the well-timed appearance of 6000 of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of succor. The day of concussion might express the disorder of one, or perhaps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal tumult, received the whimsical name of the night of barking, from the discordant clamors, which were compared to the inarticulate sounds of the fiercest animals. The morning of the succeeding day determined the fate of Persia, and a seasonable whirlwind drove a cloud of dust against the faces of the unbelievers. The clangor of arms was reëchoed to the tent of Rustam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently reclining in a cool and tranquil shade, amid the baggage of his camp and the train of mules that were laden with gold and silver. On the sound of danger he started from his couch, but his flight was overtaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by the foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a lance, and, instantly returning to the field of battle, carried slaughter and dismay among the thickest ranks of the Persians. The Saracens confess a loss of 7500 men, and the battle of Cadesia is justly described by the epithets of obstinate and atrocious. The standard of the monarchy was overthrown and captured in the field—a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who in ancient times had arisen the deliverer of Persia; but this badge of heroic poverty was disguised, and almost concealed, by a profusion of precious gems. After this victory the wealthy prov-

ince of Irak, or Babylonia, submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Bassora, a place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of fourscore miles from the Gulf the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly styled the river of the Arabs. In the midway, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank. The first colony was composed of eight hundred Moslems, but the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing and populous capital. The air, though excessively hot, is pure and healthy; the meadows are filled with palm trees and cattle; and one of the adjacent valleys has been celebrated among the four paradises or gardens of Asia. Under the first caliphs the jurisdiction of this Arabian colony extended over the southern provinces of Persia. The city has been sanctified by the tombs of the companions and martyrs, and the vessels of Europe still frequent the port of Bassora, as a convenient station and passage of the Indian trade.

After the defeat of Cadesia a country intersected by rivers and canals might have opposed an insuperable barrier to the victorious cavalry; and the walls of Ctesiphon or Madayn, which had resisted the battering-rams of the Romans, would not have yielded to the darts of the Saracens. But the flying Persians were overcome by the belief that the last day of their religion and empire was at hand, the strongest posts were abandoned by treachery or cowardice, and the king, with a part of his family and treasures, escaped to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. In the third month after the battle, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, passed the Tigris without opposition, the capital was taken by assault, and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabers of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of Chosroes; this is the promise of the Apostle of God!" The naked robbers of the desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treasure secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed; the gold and silver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture surpassed (says Abulfeda) the estimate of fancy or numbers; and another historian defines the untold and almost infinite mass, by the fabulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold. Some minute though

curious facts represent the contrast of riches and ignorance. From the remote islands of the Indian Ocean a large provision of camphor had been imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax to illuminate the palaces of the East. Strangers to the name and properties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracens, mistaking it for salt, mingled the camphor in their bread, and were astonished at the bitterness of the taste. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth: a paradise or garden was depictured on the ground. The flowers, fruits, and shrubs were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery and the colors of the precious stones, and the ample square was encircled by a variegated and verdant border. The Arabian general persuaded his soldiers to relinquish their claim, in the reasonable hope that the eyes of the caliph would be delighted with the splendid workmanship of nature and industry. Regardless of the merit of art, and the pomp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his brethren of Medina. The picture was destroyed, but such was the intrinsic value of the materials that the share of Ali alone was sold for twenty thousand drachms. A mule that carried away the tiara and cuirass, the belt and bracelets, of Chosroes was overtaken by the pursuers, the gorgeous trophy was presented to the commander of the faithful, and the gravest of the companions condescended to smile when they beheld the white beard, the hairy arms, and uncouth figure of the veteran, who was invested with the spoils of the great king.

The sack of Ctesiphon in 637 was followed by its desertion and decay. The Saracens disliked the air and situation, and Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates. In every age the foundation and ruin of the Babylonian cities has been easy and rapid. The country is destitute of stone and timber, and the most solid structures are composed of bricks baked in the sun and joined by a cement of the native bitumen. The name of Cufa describes a habitation of reeds and earth, but the importance of the new capital was supported by the numbers, wealth, and spirit of a colony of veterans; and their licentiousness was indulged by the wisest caliphs, who were apprehensive of provoking the revolt of a hundred thousand swords. "Ye men of Cufa," said Ali, who solicited their aid, "you have been always conspicuous by your valor. You conquered the Persian king and scattered his forces, till you had

taken possession of his inheritance." This mighty conquest was achieved by the battles of Jalula and Nehavend. After the loss of the former, Yezdegerd fled from Holwan and concealed his shame and despair in the mountains of Farsistan, whence Cyrus had descended with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of the nation survived that of the monarch. Among the hills to the south of Ekbatana or Hamadan, 150,000 Persians made a third and final stand for their religion and country, and the decisive battle of Nehavend in 641 was styled by the Arabs the victory of victories. If it be true that the flying general of the Persians was stopped and overtaken in a crowd of mules and camels laden with honey, the incident, however slight or singular, will denote the luxurious impediments of an Oriental army.

The geography of Persia is darkly delineated by the Greeks and Latins, but the most illustrious of her cities seem older than the invasion of the Arabs. By the reduction of Hamadan and Ispahan, of Caswin, Tauris, and Rei, the Arabs, from 637 to 651, gradually approached the Caspian Sea; and the orators of Mecca might applaud the success and spirit of the faithful, who had already lost sight of the Northern Bear, and had almost transcended the bounds of the habitable world. Again, turning toward the West and Roman Empire, they repassed the Tigris over the bridge of Mosul, and, in the captive provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, embraced their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. From the palace of Madayn their eastern progress was not less rapid or extensive. They advanced along the Tigris and the Gulf, penetrated through the passes of the mountains into the valley of Estachar or Persepolis, and profaned the last sanctuary of the Magian empire. The grandson of Chosroes was nearly surprised among the falling columns and mutilated figures, a sad emblem of the past and present fortune of Persia. He fled with accelerated haste over the desert of Kerman, implored the aid of the warlike Segestans, and sought an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkish and Chinese power. But a victorious army is insensible of fatigue. The Arabs divided their forces in the pursuit of a timorous enemy, and the Caliph Othman promised the government of Khorasan to the first general who should enter that large and populous country, the kingdom of the ancient Baktrians. The condition was accepted; the prize was deserved; the standard of Mohammed was planted on the walls of Herat, Merv, and Balkh;

and the successful leader neither halted nor reposed till his foaming cavalry had tasted the waters of the Oxus. In the public anarchy the independent governors of the cities and castles obtained their separate capitulations. The terms were granted or imposed by the esteem, the prudence, or the compassion of the victors, and a simple profession of faith established the distinction between a brother and a slave. After a noble defense, Harmozan, the prince or satrap of Ahwaz and Susa, was compelled to surrender his person and his state to the discretion of the caliph, and their interview exhibits a portrait of the Arabian manners. In the presence, and by the command, of Omar, the gay barbarian was despoiled of his silken robes embroidered with gold and of his tiara bedecked with rubies and emeralds. "Are you now sensible," said the conqueror to his naked captive, "are you now sensible of the judgment of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience?" "Alas!" replied Harmozan, "I feel them too deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons of the flesh, and my nation was superior. God was then neuter; since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted our kingdom and religion." Oppressed by this painful dialogue, the Persian complained of intolerable thirst, but expressed some apprehension lest he should be killed while he was drinking a cup of water. "Be of good courage," said the caliph; "your life is safe till you have drunk this water." The crafty satrap accepted the assurance, and instantly dashed the vase against the ground. Omar would have avenged the deceit, but his companions represented the sanctity of an oath; and the speedy conversion of Harmozan entitled him not only to a free pardon, but even to a stipend of two thousand pieces of gold. The administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth, and this monument, which attests the vigilance of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age.

The flight of Yezdegerd in 651 had carried him beyond the Oxus, and as far as the Jaxartes, two rivers of great renown, which descend from the mountains of India toward the Caspian Sea. He was hospitably entertained by Tarkhan, Prince of Fargana, a fertile province on the Jaxartes; the King of Samarcand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations and promises of the fallen monarch, and he solicited, by a suppliant embassy, the more solid and powerful

friendship of the Emperor of China. The virtuous Taitsung, the first of the dynasty of the T'ang, may be justly compared with the Antonines of Rome. His people enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace, and his dominion was acknowledged by forty-four hordes of the barbarians of Tatary. His last garrisons of Cashgar and Khoten maintained a frequent intercourse with their neighbors of the Jaxartes and Oxus, a recent colony of Persians had introduced into China the astronomy of the Magi, and Taitsung might be alarmed by the rapid progress and dangerous vicinity of the Arabs. The influence, and perhaps the supplies, of China revived the hopes of Yezdegerd and the zeal of the worshipers of fire, and he returned with an army of Turks to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death. The grandson of Chosroes was betrayed by his servant, insulted by the seditious inhabitants of Merv, and oppressed, defeated, and pursued by his barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river and offered his rings and bracelets for an instant passage in a miller's boat. Ignorant or insensible of royal distress, the rustic replied that four drachms of silver were the daily profit of his mill, and that he would not suspend his work unless the loss were repaid. In this moment of hesitation and delay the last of the Sassanian kings was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry, in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign. His son Firuz, an humble client of the Chinese emperor, accepted the station of captain of his guards, and the Magian worship was long preserved by a colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grandson inherited the regal name, but after a faint and fruitless enterprise, he returned to China, and ended his days in the palace of Sigan. The male line of the Sassanides was extinct, but the female captives, the daughters of Persia, were given to the conquerors in servitude, or marriage, and the race of the caliphs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers.

After the fall of the Persian kingdom the River Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. By 710 A. D. this boundary had been overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs, the governors of Khorasan extended their successive inroads, and one of their triumphs was adorned with the buskin of a Turkish queen, which she dropped in her precipitate flight beyond the hills of Bochara. But the final conquest of Transoxiana, as well as of

Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid; and the name of Catibah, the camel driver, declares the origin and merit of his successful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues displayed the first Mohammedan banner on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian Sea were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the Prophet and of the caliph. A tribute of two millions of pieces of gold was imposed on the infidels, their idols were burned or broken, the Mussulman chief pronounced a sermon in the new mosque of Carizme. After several battles, the Turkish hordes were driven back to the desert, and the emperors of China solicited the friendship of the victorious Arabs. To their industry the prosperity of the province, the Sogdiana of the ancients, may in a great measure be ascribed; but the advantages of the soil and climate had been understood and cultivated since the reign of the Macedonian kings. Before the invasion of the Saracens, Carizme, Bochara, and Samarcand were rich and populous under the yoke of the shepherds of the north. These cities were surrounded with a double wall, and the exterior fortification, of a larger circumference, enclosed the fields and gardens of the adjacent district. The mutual wants of India and Europe were supplied by the diligence of the Sogdian merchants, and the inestimable art of transforming linen into paper has been diffused from the manufacture of Samarcand over the Western world.

No sooner had Abu Bekr restored the unity of faith and government in 632 A. D. than he dispatched a circular letter to the Arabian tribes. "In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God, be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his Prophet, Mohammed. This is to acquaint you that I intend to send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." His messengers returned with the tidings of pious and martial ardor which they had kindled in every province, and the camp of Medina was successively filled with the intrepid bands of the Saracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the season and the scarcity of provisions, and accused with impatient murmurs the delays of the caliph. As soon as their numbers were complete Abu Bekr ascended the hill, reviewed the men, the horses, and the arms, and poured forth a fer-

vent prayer for the success of their undertaking. In person, and on foot, he accompanied the first day's march; and when the blushing leaders attempted to dismount, the caliph removed their scruples by a declaration that those who rode and those who walked in the service of religion were equally meritorious. His instructions to the chiefs of the Syrian army were inspired by the warlike fanaticism which advances to seize, and affects to despise, the objects of earthly ambition. "Remember," said the successor of the Prophet, "that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression, consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or articles, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way; let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries. And you will find another sort of people, that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns; be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mohammedans or pay tribute." All profane or frivolous conversation, all dangerous recollection of ancient quarrels, was severely prohibited among the Arabs. In the tumult of a camp the exercises of religion were assiduously practiced, and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the study of the Koran. The abuse, or even the use, of wine was chastised by fourscore strokes on the soles of the feet, and in the fervor of their primitive zeal many secret sinners revealed their fault and solicited their punishment. After some hesitation the command of the Syrian army was delegated to Abu Obaidah, one of the fugitives of Mecca, and companions of Mohammed, whose zeal and devotion were assuaged, without being abated, by the singular mildness and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Khalid; and whoever might be the choice of the prince, the Sword of God was both in fact and fame the foremost leader of the Saracens. He obeyed without re-

luctance, he was consulted without jealousy; and such was the spirit of the man, or rather of the times, that Khalid professed his readiness to serve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child or an enemy. Glory, and riches, and dominion were indeed promised to the victorious Mussulman, but he was carefully instructed that if the goods of this life were his only incitement, they likewise would be his only reward.

One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands to the eastward of the Jordan, had been decorated by Roman vanity with the name of Arabia; and the first arms of the Saracens were justified by the semblance of a national right. The country was enriched by the various benefits of trade; by the vigilance of the emperors it was covered with a line of forts; and the populous cities of Gerasa, Philadelphia, and Bosra were secure, at least from a surprise, by the solid structure of their walls. The last of these cities was the eighteenth station from Medina, and the road was familiar to the caravans of Hejaz and Irak, which annually visited this plenteous market of the province and the desert. The perpetual jealousy of the Arabs had trained the inhabitants to arms, and 12,000 horse could sally from the gates of Bosra, an appellation which signifies, in the Syriac language, a strong tower of defense. Encouraged by their first success against the open towns and flying parties of the borders, a detachment of 4000 Moslems presumed to summon and attack the fortress of Bosra. They were oppressed by the numbers of the Syrians; they were saved by the presence of Khalid, with 1500 horse. He blamed the enterprise, restored the battle, and rescued his friend, the venerable Serjabil, who had vainly invoked the unity of God and the promises of the Apostle. After a short repose the Moslems performed their ablutions with sand instead of water, and the morning prayer was recited by Khalid before they mounted on horseback. Confident in their strength, the people of Bosra threw open their gates, drew their forces into the plain, and swore to die in the defense of their religion. But a religion of peace was incapable of withstanding the fanatic cry of "Fight, fight! Paradise, paradise!" that reëchoed in the ranks of the Saracens; and the uproar of the town, the ringing of bells, and the exclamations of the priests and monks increased the dismay and disorder of the Christians. With the loss of 230 men the Arabs remained masters of the field, and the ramparts of Bosra, in expectation of human or divine aid, were crowded with

holy crosses and consecrated banners. The governor, Romanus, had recommended an early submission. Despised by the people, and degraded from his office, he still retained the desire and opportunity of revenge. In a nocturnal interview he informed the enemy of a subterraneous passage from his house under the wall of the city. The son of the caliph, and a hundred volunteers, were committed to the faith of this new ally, and their successful intrepidity gave an easy entrance to their companions. After Khalid had imposed the terms of servitude and tribute, the apostate or convert avowed in the assembly of the people his meritorious treason. "I renounce your society," said Romanus, "both in this world and the world to come. And I deny Him that was crucified, and whomsoever worships Him. And I choose God for my Lord, Islam for my faith, Mecca for my temple, the Moslems for my brethren, and Mohammed for my Prophet; who was sent to lead us into the right way, and to exalt the true religion in spite of those who join partners with God."

The conquest of Bosra, four days' journey from Damascus, encouraged the Arabs to besiege the ancient capital in 633 A. D. At some distance from the walls they encamped among the groves and fountains of that delicious territory, and the usual option of the Mohammedan faith, of tribute or of war, was proposed to the resolute citizens, who had been lately strengthened by a reinforcement of 5000 Greeks. In the decline, as in the infancy, of the military art, a hostile defiance was frequently offered and accepted by the generals themselves. Many a lance was shivered in the plain of Damascus, and the personal prowess of Khalid was signalized in the first sally of the besieged. After an obstinate combat, he had overthrown and made prisoner one of the Christian leaders, a stout and worthy antagonist. He instantly mounted a fresh horse, the gift of the governor of Palmyra, and pushed forward to the front of the battle. "Repose yourself for a moment," said his friend Derar; "and permit me to supply your place; you are fatigued with fighting with this dog." "O Derar!" replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we shall rest in the world to come. He that labors to-day shall rest to-morrow." With the same unabated ardor Khalid answered, encountered and vanquished a second champion; and the heads of his two captives, who refused to abandon their religion, were indignantly hurled into the midst of the city. The event of some general and partial actions reduced the Damas-

cenes to a closer defense, but a messenger, whom they dropped from the walls, returned with the promise of speedy and powerful succor, and their tumultuous joy conveyed the intelligence to the camp of the Arabs. After some debate it was resolved by the generals to raise, or rather to suspend, the siege of Damascus till they had given battle to the forces of the emperor. In the retreat, Khalid would have chosen the more perilous station of the rear-guard; he modestly yielded to the wishes of Abu Obaidah. But in the hour of danger he flew to the rescue of his companion, who was rudely pressed by a sally of 6000 horse and 10,000 foot, and few among the Christians could relate at Damascus the circumstances of their defeat. The importance of the contest required the junction of the Saracens, who were dispersed on the frontiers of Syria and Palestine; and I shall transcribe one of the circular mandates which was addressed to Amru, the future conqueror of Egypt. "In the name of the most merciful God: from Khalid to Amru, health and happiness. Know that thy brethren the Moslems design to march to Aiznadin, where there is an army of 70,000 Greeks, who purpose to come against us, that they may extinguish the light of God with their mouths; but God preserveth his light in spite of the infidels. As soon, therefore, as this letter of mine shall be delivered to thy hands, come with those that are with thee to Aiznadin, where thou shalt find us, if it please the most high God." The summons was cheerfully obeyed, and the 45,000 Moslems, who met on the same day, on the same spot ascribed to the blessing of Providence the effects of their activity and zeal.

About four years after the triumphs of the Persian war the repose of Heraclius and the empire was again disturbed by a new enemy, the power of whose religion was more strongly felt, than it was clearly understood, by the Christians of the East. In his palace of Constantinople or Antioch he was awakened by the invasion of Syria, the loss of Bosra, and the danger of Damascus. An army of 70,000 veterans, or new levies, was assembled at Hems or Emesa, under the command of his general, Werdan, and these troops, consisting chiefly of cavalry, might be indifferently styled either Syrians, or Greeks, or Romans; Syrians, from the place of their birth or warfare; Greeks, from the religion and language of their sovereign; and Romans, from the proud appellation which was still profaned by the successors of Constantine. On the plain of Aiznadin, as Werdan rode on a white mule decorated with gold

chains and surrounded with ensigns and standards, he was surprised by the near approach of a fierce and naked warrior, who had undertaken to view the state of the enemy. The adventurous valor of Derar was inspired, and has perhaps been adorned, by the enthusiasm of his age and country. The hatred of the Christians, the love of spoil, and the contempt of danger were the ruling passions of the audacious Saracen; and the prospect of instant death could never shake his religious confidence or ruffle the calmness of his resolution, or even suspend the frank and martial pleasantry of his humor. In the most hopeless enterprises he was bold, and prudent, and fortunate; after innumerable hazards, after being thrice a prisoner in the hands of the infidels, he still survived to relate the achievements, and to enjoy the rewards, of the Syrian conquest. On this occasion his single lance maintained a flying fight against thirty Romans, who were detached by Werdan; and, after killing or unhorsing seventeen of their number, Derar returned in safety to his applauding brethren. When his rashness was mildly censured by the general, he excused himself with the simplicity of a soldier. "Nay," said Derar, "I did not begin first, but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my back, and indeed I fought in good earnest, and without doubt God assisted me against them; and had I not been apprehensive of disobeying your orders, I should not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our hands."

In the presence of both armies a venerable Greek advanced from the ranks with a liberal offer of peace; and the departure of the Saracens would have been purchased by a gift to each soldier of a turban, a robe, and a piece of gold; ten robes and a hundred pieces to their leader; one hundred robes and a thousand pieces to the caliph. A smile of indignation expressed the refusal of Khalid. "Ye Christian dogs, you know your option: the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. We are a people whose delight is in war, rather than in peace; and we despise your pitiful alms, since we shall be speedily masters of your wealth, your families, and your persons." Notwithstanding this apparent disdain, he was deeply conscious of the public danger. Those who had been in Persia, and had seen the armies of Chosroes, confessed that they never beheld a more formidable array. From the superiority of the enemy the artful Saracen derived a fresh incentive of cour-

age. "You see before you," said he, "the united force of the Romans; you cannot hope to escape, but you may conquer Syria in a single day. The event depends on your discipline and patience. Reserve yourselves till the evening. It was in the evening that the Prophet was accustomed to vanquish." During two successive engagements his temperate firmness sustained the darts of the enemy and the murmurs of his troops. At length, when the spirits and quivers of the adverse line were almost exhausted, Khalid gave the signal of onset and victory. The remains of the imperial army fled to Antioch, or Cæsarea, or Damascus; and the death of 470 Moslems was compensated by the opinion that they had sent to hell above fifty thousand of the infidels. The spoil was inestimable: many banners and crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, silver and gold chains, and innumerable suits of the richest armor and apparel. The general distribution was postponed till Damascus should be taken, but the seasonable supply of arms became the instrument of new victories. The glorious intelligence was transmitted to the throne of the caliph, and the Arabian tribes, the coldest or most hostile to the Prophet's mission, were eager and importunate to share the harvest of Syria.

The sad tidings were carried to Damascus by the speed of grief and terror, and the inhabitants beheld from their walls the return of the heroes of Aiznadin. Amru led the van at the head of 9000 horse. The bands of the Saracens succeeded each other in formidable review, and the rear was closed by Khalid in person, with the standard of the black eagle. To the activity of Derar he intrusted the commission of patrolling round the city with 2000 horse, of scouring the plain, and of intercepting all succor or intelligence. The rest of the Arabian chiefs were fixed in their respective stations before the seven gates of Damascus, and the siege was renewed with fresh vigor and confidence. The art, the labor, the military engines, of the Greeks and Romans are seldom to be found in the simple, though successful, operations of the Saracens. It was sufficient for them to invest a city with arms, rather than with trenches; to repel the sallies of the besieged; to attempt a stratagem or an assault; or to expect the progress of famine and discontent. Damascus would have acquiesced in the trial of Aiznadin, as a final and peremptory sentence between the emperor and the caliph; her courage was rekindled by the example and authority of Thomas, a noble Greek, illustrious in a private

condition by the alliance of Heraclius. The tumult and illumination of the night proclaimed the design of the morning sally; and the Christian hero, who affected to despise the enthusiasm of the Arabs, employed the resource of a similar superstition. At the principal gate, in the sight of both armies, a lofty crucifix was erected; the bishop, with his clergy, accompanied the march, and laid the volume of the New Testament before the image of Jesus; and the contending parties were scandalized or edified by a prayer that the Son of God would defend his servants and vindicate his truth.

The battle raged with incessant fury; and the dexterity of Thomas, an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracens, till their death was revenged by a heroic woman. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war, embraced her expiring husband. "Happy," said she, "happy art thou, my dear; thou art gone to thy Lord, who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavor to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God." Without a groan, without a tear, she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him with the usual rites. Then grasping the manly weapons, which in her native land she was accustomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the place where his murderer fought in the thickest of the battle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-bearer; her second wounded Thomas in the eye; and the fainting Christians no longer beheld their ensign or their leader. Yet the generous champion of Damascus refused to withdraw to his palace: his wound was dressed on the rampart; the fight was continued till the evening; and the Syrians rested on their arms. In the silence of the night the signal was given by a stroke on the great bell; the gates were thrown open, and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the sleeping camp of the Saracens. Khalid was the first in arms. At the head of 400 horse he flew to the post of danger, and the tears trickled down his iron cheeks, as he uttered a fervent ejaculation: "O God, who never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies." The valor and victory of Thomas were arrested by the presence of the "Sword of God"; with the knowledge of the peril the Moslems recovered their ranks and charged the assailants in the flank

and rear. After the loss of thousands, the Christian general retreated with a sigh of despair, and the pursuit of the Saracens was checked by the military engines of the rampart.

After a siege of seventy days the patience, and perhaps the provisions, of the Damascenes were exhausted; and the bravest of their chiefs submitted to the hard dictates of necessity. In the occurrences of peace and war they had been taught to dread the fierceness of Khalid, and to revere the mild virtues of Abu Obaidah. At the hour of midnight one hundred chosen deputies of the clergy and people were introduced to the tent of that venerable commander. He received and dismissed them with courtesy. They returned with a written agreement, on the faith of a companion of Mohammed, that all hostilities should cease; that the voluntary emigrants might depart in safety, with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary subjects of the caliph should enjoy their lands and houses, with the use and possession of seven churches. On these terms, the most respectable hostages, and the gate nearest to his camp, were delivered into his hands. His soldiers imitated the moderation of their chief, and he enjoyed the submissive gratitude of a people whom he had rescued from destruction. But the success of the treaty had relaxed their vigilance, and in the same moment the opposite quarter of the city was betrayed and taken by assault. A party of a hundred Arabs had opened the eastern gate to a more inexorable foe. "No quarter," cried the rapacious and sanguinary Khalid, "no quarter to the enemies of the Lord!" His trumpets sounded, and a torrent of Christian blood was poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the Church of St. Mary he was astonished and provoked by the peaceful aspect of his companions; their swords were in the scabbard, and they were surrounded by a multitude of priests and monks. Abu Obaidah saluted the general. "God," said he, "has delivered the city into my hands by way of surrender, and has saved the believers the trouble of fighting." "And am I not," replied the indignant Khalid, "am I not the lieutenant of the commander of the faithful? Have I not taken the city by storm? The unbelievers shall perish by the sword. Fall on."

The cruel Arabs would have obeyed the welcome command, and Damascus was lost if the benevolence of Abu Obaidah had not been supported by a decent and dignified firmness. Throwing himself between the trembling citizens and the most eager of the

barbarians he adjured them, by the holy name of God, to respect his promise, to suspend their fury, and to wait the determination of their chiefs. The chiefs retired into the Church of St. Mary, and after a vehement debate Khalid submitted in some measure to the reason and authority of his colleague; who urged the sanctity of a covenant, the advantage as well as the honor which the Moslems would derive from the punctual performance of their word, and the obstinate resistance which they must encounter from the distrust and despair of the rest of the Syrian cities. It was agreed that the sword should be sheathed, that the part of Damascus which had surrendered to Abu Obaidah should be immediately entitled to the benefit of his capitulation, and that the final decision should be referred to the justice and wisdom of the caliph. A large majority of the people accepted the terms of toleration and tribute, and Damascus is still peopled by twenty thousand Christians. But the valiant Thomas and the free-born patriots who had fought under his banner embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In the adjacent meadow a numerous encampment was formed of priests and laymen, of soldiers and citizens, of women and children. They collected, with haste and terror, their most precious movables, and abandoned, with loud lamentations or silent anguish, their native homes and the pleasant banks of the Pharpar. The inflexible soul of Khalid was not touched by the spectacle of their distress: he disputed with the Damascenes the property of a magazine of corn; endeavored to exclude the garrison from the benefit of the treaty; consented, with reluctance, that each of the fugitives should arm himself with a sword, or a lance, or a bow; and sternly declared that after a respite of three days they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems.

The passion of a Syrian youth completed the ruin of the exiles of Damascus. A nobleman of the city, of the name of Jonas, was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; but her parents delayed the consummation of his nuptials, and their daughter was persuaded to escape with the man whom she had chosen. They corrupted the nightly watchmen of the gate Keisan; the lover, who led the way, was encompassed by a squadron of Arabs; but his exclamation in the Greek tongue, "The bird is taken," admonished his mistress to hasten her return. In the presence of Khalid, and of death, the unfortunate Jonas professed his belief in one God and his Apostle Mohammed and continued, till the season of his martyrdom, to

discharge the duties of a brave and sincere Mussulman. When the city was taken he flew to the monastery where Eudocia had taken refuge; but the lover was forgotten; the apostate was scorned; she preferred her religion to her country; and the justice of Khalid, though deaf to mercy, refused to detain by force a male or female inhabitant of Damascus. Four days was the general confined to the city by the obligation of the treaty, and the urgent cares of his new conquest. His appetite for blood and rapine would have been extinguished by the hopeless computation of time and distance, but he listened to the importunities of Jonas, who assured him that the weary fugitives might yet be overtaken. At the head of four thousand horse, in the disguise of Christian Arabs, Khalid undertook the pursuit. They halted only for the moments of prayer; and their guide had a perfect knowledge of the country. For a long way the footsteps of the Damascenes were plain and conspicuous. They vanished on a sudden, but the Saracens were comforted by the assurance that the caravan had turned aside into the mountains and must speedily fall into their hands. In traversing the ridges of the Libanus they endured intolerable hardships, and the sinking spirits of the veteran fanatics were supported and cheered by the unconquerable ardor of a lover. From a peasant of the country they were informed that the emperor had sent orders to the colony of exiles to pursue without delay the road of the sea-coast, and of Constantinople, apprehensive, perhaps, that the soldiers and people of Antioch might be discouraged by the sight and the story of their sufferings. The Saracens were conducted through the territories of Gabala and Laodicea, at a cautious distance from the walls of the cities; the rain was incessant, the night was dark, a single mountain separated them from the Roman army; and Khalid, ever anxious for the safety of his brethren, whispered an ominous dream in the ear of his companion. With the dawn of day the prospect again cleared, and they saw before them, in a pleasant valley, the tents of Damascus. After a short interval of repose and prayer, Khalid divided his cavalry into four squadrons, committing the first to his faithful Derar, and reserving the last for himself. They successively rushed on the promiscuous multitude, insufficiently provided with arms, and already vanquished by sorrow and fatigue. Except a captive, who was pardoned and dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their scimiters. The gold

and silver of Damascus was scattered over the camp, and a royal wardrobe of three hundred loads of silk might clothe an army of naked barbarians. In the tumult of the battle Jonas sought and found the object of his pursuit; but her resentment was inflamed by the last act of his perfidy, and as Eudocia struggled in his hateful embraces she struck a dagger to her heart. Another female, the widow of Thomas, and the real or supposed daughter of Heraclius, was spared and released without a ransom; but the generosity of Khalid was the effect of his contempt, and the haughty Saracen insulted, by a message of defiance, the throne of the Cæsars. Khalid had penetrated above a hundred and fifty miles into the heart of the Roman province; he returned to Damascus with the same secrecy and speed. On the accession of Omar the "Sword of God" was removed from the command, but the caliph, who blamed the rashness, was compelled to applaud the vigor and conduct, of the enterprise.

Another expedition of the conquerors of Damascus will equally display their avidity and their contempt for the riches of the present world. They were informed that the produce and manufactures of the country were annually collected in the fair of Abyla, about thirty miles from the city; that the cell of a devout hermit was visited at the same time by a multitude of pilgrims; and that the festival of trade and superstition would be ennobled by the nuptials of the daughter of the governor of Tripoli. Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, a glorious and holy martyr, undertook, with a banner of 500 horse, the pious and profitable commission of despoiling the infidels. As he approached the fair of Abyla he was astonished by the report of the mighty concourse of Jews and Christians, Greeks and Armenians, of natives of Syria and of strangers of Egypt, to the number of 10,000, besides a guard of 5000 horse that attended the person of the bride. The Saracens paused. "For my own part," said Abdallah, "I dare not go back, our foes are many, our danger is great, but our reward is splendid and secure, either in this life or in the life to come. Let every man, according to his inclination, advance or retire." Not a Mussulman deserted his standard. "Lead the way," said Abdallah to his Christian guide, "and you shall see what the companions of the Prophet can perform." They charged in five squadrons; but after the first advantage of the surprise they were encompassed and almost overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies; and their valiant

band is fancifully compared to a white spot in the skin of a black camel. About the hour of sunset, when their weapons dropped from their hands, when they panted on the verge of eternity, they discovered an approaching cloud of dust, they heard the welcome sound of the tecbir, and they soon perceived the standard of Khalid, who flew to their relief with the utmost speed of his cavalry. The Christians were broken by his attack, and slaughtered in their flight, as far as the river of Tripoli. They left behind them the various riches of the fair, the merchandises that were exposed for sale, the money that was brought for purchase, the gay decorations of the nuptials, and the governor's daughter, with forty of her female attendants. The fruits, provisions, and furniture, the money, plate, and jewels, were diligently laden on the backs of horses, asses, and mules, and the holy robbers returned in triumph to Damascus. The hermit, after a short and angry controversy with Khalid, declined the crown of martyrdom, and was left alive in the solitary scene of blood and devastation.

Syria, one of the countries that have been improved by the most early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference. The heat of the climate was tempered by the vicinity of the sea and mountains, by the abundance of wood and water; and the produce of a fertile soil affords the subsistence, and encourages the propagation, of men and animals. From the age of David to that of Heraclius the country was overspread with ancient and flourishing cities; the inhabitants were numerous and wealthy; and, after the slow ravages of despotism and superstition, after the recent calamities of the Persian war, Syria could still attract and reward the rapacious tribes of the desert. A plain, of ten days' journey from Damascus to Aleppo and Antioch, is watered on the western side by the winding course of the Orontes. The hills of Libanus and Anti-Libanus are planted from north to south, between the Orontes and the Mediterranean; and the epithet of "hollow" (Cœle Syria) was applied to a long and fruitful valley which is confined in the same direction by the two ridges of snowy mountains. Among the cities which are enumerated by Greek and Oriental names in the geography and conquest of Syria, we may distinguish Emesa or Hems, Heliopolis or Baalbec, the former as the metropolis of the plain, the latter as the capital of the valley. Under the last of the Cæsars they were strong and populous; the turrets glittered from afar; an ample space was covered with public and private buildings; and the citi-

zens were illustrious by their spirit, or at least by their pride; by their riches, or at least by their luxury. In the days of paganism both Emesa and Heliopolis were addicted to the worship of Baal, or the sun; but the decline of their superstition and splendor has been marked by a singular variety of fortune. Not a vestige remains of the temple of Emesa, which was equaled in poetic style to the summits of Mount Libanus, while the ruins of Baalbec, invisible to the writers of antiquity, excite the curiosity and wonder of the European traveler. The measure of the temple is two hundred feet in length, and one hundred in breadth; the front is adorned with a double portico of eight columns; fourteen may be counted on either side: and each column, forty-five feet in height, is composed of three massy blocks of stone or marble. The proportions and ornaments of the Corinthian order express the architecture of the Greeks, but as Baalbec has never been the seat of a monarch, we are at a loss to conceive how the expense of these magnificent structures could be supplied by private or municipal liberality. From the conquest of Damascus the Saracens proceeded in 635 to Heliopolis and Emesa, but it is needless to describe the sallies and combats which have been already shown on a larger scale. In the prosecution of the war their policy was not less effectual than their sword. By short and separate truces they dissolved the union of the enemy; accustomed the Syrians to compare their friendship with their enmity; familiarized the idea of their language, religion, and manners; and exhausted, by clandestine purchase, the magazines and arsenals of the cities which they returned to besiege. They aggravated the ransom of the more wealthy, or the more obstinate; and Chalcis alone was taxed at five thousand ounces of gold, five thousand ounces of silver, two thousand robes of silk, and as many figs and olives as would load five thousand asses. But the terms of truce or capitulation were faithfully observed; and the lieutenant of the caliph, who had promised not to enter the walls of the captive Baalbec, remained tranquil and immovable in his tent till the jarring factions solicited the interposition of a foreign master. The conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was achieved in less than two years. Yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their progress; and the Saracens, bewailing their fault with tears of rage and repentance, called aloud on their chiefs to lead them forth to fight the battles of the Lord. In an engagement under the walls of Emesa, an

Arabian youth, the cousin of Khalid, was heard to exclaim aloud, "Methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me; one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them a handkerchief of green silk, and a cap of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee." With these words, charging the Christians, he made havoc wherever he went, till, observed at length by the governor of Emesa, he was struck through with a javelin.

It was incumbent on the Saracens to exert the full powers of their valor and enthusiasm against the forces of the emperor, who was taught, by repeated losses, that the rovers of the desert had undertaken, and would speedily achieve, a regular and permanent conquest. From the provinces of Europe and Asia fourscore thousand soldiers were transported by sea and land to Antioch and Cæsarea: the light troops of the army consisted of 60,000 Christian Arabs of the tribe of Ghassan. Under the banner of Jabalah, the last of their princes, they marched in the van; and it was a maxim of the Greeks, that for the purpose of cutting diamond, a diamond was the most effectual. Heraclius withheld his person from the dangers of the field, but his presumption, or perhaps his despondency, suggested a peremptory order, that the fate of the province and the war should be decided by a single battle. The Syrians were attached to the standard of Rome and of the cross; but the noble, the citizen, the peasant, were exasperated by the injustice and cruelty of a licentious host, who oppressed them as subjects, and despised them as strangers and aliens. A report of these mighty preparations was conveyed to the Saracens in their camp at Emesa; and the chiefs, though resolved to fight, assembled a council; the faith of Abu Obaidah would have expected on the same spot the glory of martyrdom; the wisdom of Khalid advised an honorable retreat to the skirts of Palestine and Arabia, where they might await the succors of their friends, and the attack of the unbelievers. A speedy messenger soon returned from the throne of Medina, with the blessings of Omar and Ali, the prayers of the widows of the Prophet, and a reinforcement of 8000 Moslems. On their way they overturned a detachment of Greeks, and when at Yermuk they joined the camp of their brethren they found the pleasing intelligence that Khalid had already defeated and scattered the Christian Arabs of the tribe of Ghassan. In the neighborhood of Bosra the

springs of Mount Hermon descend in a torrent to the plain of Decapolis, or ten cities; and the Hieromax, a name which has been corrupted to Yermuk, is lost, after a short course, in the Lake of Tiberias. The banks of this obscure stream were made famous by a long and bloody encounter. On this momentous occasion the public voice, and the modesty of Abu Obaidah, restored the command in November, 636, to the most deserving of the Moslems. Khalid assumed his station in the front, his colleague was posted in the rear, that the disorder of the fugitives might be checked by his venerable aspect, and the sight of the yellow banner which Mohammed had displayed before the walls of Khaibar. The last line was occupied by the sister of Derar, with the Arabian women who had enlisted in this holy war, who were accustomed to wield the bow and the lance, and who in a moment of captivity had defended, against the uncircumcised ravishers, their chastity and religion. The exhortation of the generals was brief and forcible. "Paradise is before you, the devil and hell-fire in your rear." Yet such was the weight of the Roman cavalry that the right wing of the Arabs was broken and separated from the main body. Thrice did they retreat in disorder, and thrice were they driven back to the charge by the reproaches and blows of the women. In the intervals of action Abu Obaidah visited the tents of his brethren, prolonged their repose by repeating at once the prayers of two different hours, bound up their wounds with his own hands, and administered the comfortable reflection that the infidels partook of their sufferings without partaking of their reward.

Four thousand and thirty of the Moslems were buried in the field of battle; and the skill of the Armenian archers enabled 700 to boast that they had lost an eye in that meritorious service. The veterans of the Syrian war acknowledged that it was the hardest and most doubtful of the days which they had seen. But it was likewise the most decisive: many thousands of the Greeks and Syrians fell by the swords of the Arabs; many were slaughtered, after the defeat, in the woods and mountains; many, by mistaking the ford, were drowned in the waters of the Yermuk; and however the loss may be magnified, the Christian writers confess and bewail the bloody punishment of their sins. Manuel, the Roman general, was either killed at Damascus or took refuge in the monastery of Mount Sinai. An exile in the Byzantine court, Jabalah lamented the manners of Arabia, and his unlucky prefer-

ence of the Christian cause. He had once inclined to the profession of Islam; but in the pilgrimage of Mecca Jabalah was provoked to strike one of his brethren, and fled with amazement from the stern and equal justice of the caliph. These victorious Saracens enjoyed at Damascus a month of pleasure and repose: the spoil was divided by the discretion of Abu Obaidah: an equal share was allotted to a soldier and to his horse, and a double portion was reserved for the noble coursers of the Arabian breed.

After the battle of Yermuk the Roman army no longer appeared in the field; and the Saracens might securely choose, among the fortified towns of Syria, the first object of their attack. They consulted the caliph whether they should march to Cæsarea or Jerusalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate siege of the latter. To a profane eye Jerusalem was the first or second capital of Palestine; but after Mecca and Medina it was revered and visited by the devout Moslems, as the temple of the Holy Land which had been sanctified by the revelation of Moses, of Jesus, and of Mohammed himself. In 637 the son of Abu Sufyan led 5000 Arabs to try the first experiment of surprise or treaty; but on the eleventh day the town was invested by the whole force of Abu Obaidah. He addressed the customary summons to the chief commanders and people of Ælia.

"Health and happiness to everyone that follows the right way! We require of you to testify that there is but one God, and that Mohammed is his Apostle. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Otherwise I shall bring men against you who love death better than you do the drinking of wine or eating hog's flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made slaves of your children." But the city was defended on every side by deep valleys and steep ascents; since the invasion of Syria the walls and towers had been anxiously restored; the bravest of the fugitives of Yermuk had stopped in the nearest place of refuge; and in the defense of the sepulcher of Christ the natives and strangers might feel some sparks of the enthusiasm which so fiercely glowed in the bosoms of the Saracens. The siege of Jerusalem lasted four months; not a day was lost without some action of sally or assault; the military engines incessantly played from the ramparts; and the inclemency of the winter was still more painful and destructive to the Arabs. The Christians yielded at length to the perseverance

of the besiegers. The patriarch Sophronius appeared on the walls, and by the voice of an interpreter demanded a conference. After a vain attempt to dissuade the lieutenant of the caliph from his impious enterprise, he proposed, in the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extraordinary clause, that the articles of security should be ratified by the authority and presence of Omar himself. The question was debated in the council of Medina; the sanctity of the place, and the advice of Ali, persuaded the caliph to gratify the wishes of his soldiers and enemies; and the simplicity of his journey is more illustrious than the royal pageants of vanity and oppression. The conqueror of Persia and Syria was mounted on a red camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water. Wherever he halted, the company, without distinction, was invited to partake of his homely fare, and the repast was consecrated by the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful. But in this expedition or pilgrimage his power was exercised in the administration of justice: he reformed the licentious polygamy of the Arabs, relieved the tributaries from extortion and cruelty, and chastised the luxury of the Saracens, by despoiling them of their rich silks, and dragging them on their faces in the dirt. When he came within sight of Jerusalem the caliph cried with a loud voice, "God is victorious. O Lord, give us an easy conquest!" and, pitching his tent of coarse hair, calmly seated himself on the ground. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution; and courteously discoursed with the patriarch concerning its religious antiquities. Sophronius bowed before his new master, and secretly muttered, in the words of Daniel, "The abomination of desolation is in the holy place." At the hour of prayer they stood together in the Church of the Resurrection; but the caliph refused to perform his devotions, and contented himself with praying on the steps of the Church of Constantine. To the patriarch he disclosed his prudent and honorable motive. "Had I yielded," said Omar, "to your request, the Moslems of a future age would have infringed the treaty under color of imitating my example." By his command the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the foundation of a mosque; and during a residence of ten days he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests. Medina might be jealous lest the caliph should be detained by the sanctity of Jerusalem or the beauty of Damascus;

her apprehensions were dispelled by his prompt and voluntary return to the tomb of the Apostle.

To achieve what yet remained of the Syrian war the caliph in 638 had formed two separate armies; a detachment, under Amru and Yezid, was left in the camp of Palestine; while the larger division, under the standard of Abu Obaidah and Khalid, marched away to the north against Antioch and Aleppo. The latter of these, the Baræa of the Greeks, was not yet illustrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating their submission and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate composition for their lives and religion. But the castle of Aleppo, distinct from the city, stood erect on a lofty artificial mound: the sides were sharpened to a precipice, and faced with freestone; and the breadth of the ditch might be filled with water from the neighboring springs. After the loss of 3000 men the garrison was still equal to the defense; and Youkinna, their valiant and hereditary chief, had murdered his brother, a holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a siege of four or five months, the hardest of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed and wounded: their removal to the distance of a mile could not seduce the vigilance of Youkinna; nor could the Christians be terrified by the execution of three hundred captives who were beheaded before the castle wall. The silence, and at length the complaints, of Abu Obaidah informed the caliph that their hope and patience were consumed at the foot of this impregnable fortress. "I am variously affected," replied Omar, "by the difference of your success; but I charge you by no means to raise the siege of the castle. Your retreat would diminish the reputation of our arms, and encourage the infidels to fall upon you on all sides. Remain before Aleppo till God shall determine the event, and forage with your horse round the adjacent country." The exhortation of the commander of the faithful was fortified by a supply of volunteers from all the tribes of Arabia, who arrived in the camp on horses or camels. Among these was Dames, of servile birth, but of gigantic size and intrepid resolution. The forty-seventh day of his service he proposed, with only thirty men, to make an attempt on the castle. The experience and testimony of Khalid recommended his offer; and Abu Obaidah admonished his brethren not to despise the baser origin of Dames, since he himself, could he relinquish the public care, would cheerfully serve under the banner of the

slave. His design was covered by the appearance of a retreat; and the camp of the Saracens was pitched about a league from Aleppo. The thirty adventurers lay in ambush at the foot of the hill; and Dames at length succeeded in his inquiries, though he was provoked by the ignorance of his Greek captives. "God curse these dogs," said the illiterate Arab; "what a strange barbarous language they speak!" At the darkest hour of the night he scaled the most accessible height, which he had diligently surveyed, a place where the stones were less entire, or the slope less perpendicular, or the guard less vigilant. Seven of the stoutest Saracens mounted on each other's shoulders, and the weight of the column was sustained on the broad and sinewy back of the gigantic slave. The foremost in this painful ascent could grasp and climb the lowest part of the battlements; they silently stabbed and cast down the sentinels; and the thirty brethren, repeating a pious ejaculation, "O Apostle of God, help and deliver us!" were successively drawn up by the long folds of their turbans. With bold and cautious footsteps Dames explored the palace of the governor, who celebrated, in riotous merriment, the festival of his deliverance. Thence, returning to his companions, he assaulted on the inside the entrance of the castle. They overpowered the guard, unbolted the gate, let down the drawbridge, and defended the narrow pass, till the arrival of Khalid, with the dawn of day, relieved their danger and assured their conquest. Youkinna, a formidable foe, became an active and useful proselyte; and the general of the Saracens expressed his regard for the most humble merit, by detaining the army at Aleppo till Dames was cured of his honorable wounds. The capital of Syria was still covered by the castle of Aazaz and the iron bridge of the Orontes. After the loss of those important posts, and the defeat of the last of the Roman armies, the luxury of Antioch trembled and obeyed. Her safety was ransomed with three hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the throne of the successors of Alexander, the seat of the Roman government in the East, which had been decorated by Cæsar with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate, was degraded under the yoke of the caliphs to the secondary rank of a provincial town.

In the life of Heraclius the glories of the Persian war are clouded on either hand by the disgrace and weakness of his more early and his later days. When the successors of Mohammed unsheathed the sword of war and religion he was astonished at

the boundless prospect of toil and danger; his nature was indolent, nor could the infirm and frigid age of the emperor be kindled to a second effort. The sense of shame, and the importunities of the Syrians, prevented his hasty departure from the scene of action; but the hero was no more; and the loss of Damascus and Jerusalem, the bloody fields of Aiznadin and Yermuk, may be imputed in some degree to the absence or misconduct of the sovereign. Instead of defending the sepulcher of Christ, he involved the church and state in a metaphysical controversy for the unity of his will; and while Heraclius crowned the offspring of his second nuptials, he was tamely stripped of the most valuable part of their inheritance. In the cathedral of Antioch, in the presence of the bishops, at the foot of the crucifix, he bewailed the sins of the prince and people; but his confession instructed the world that it was vain, and perhaps impious, to resist the judgment of God. The Saracens were invincible in fact, since they were invincible in opinion; and the desertion of Youkinna, his false repentance and repeated perfidy, might justify the suspicion of the emperor, that he was encompassed by traitors and apostates, who conspired to betray his person and their country to the enemies of Christ. In the hour of adversity his superstition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown; and bidding eternal farewell to Syria, in 638 he secretly embarked with a few attendants, and absolved the faith of his subjects. Constantine, his eldest son, had been stationed with 40,000 men at Cæsarea, the civil metropolis of the three provinces of Palestine. But his private interest recalled him to the Byzantine court, and after the flight of his father he felt himself an unequal champion to the united force of the caliph. His vanguard was boldly attacked by 300 Arabs and 1000 black slaves, who in the depth of winter had climbed the snowy mountains of Libanus, and who were speedily followed by the victorious squadrons of Khalid himself. From the north and south the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced along the seashore till her banners were joined under the walls of the Phœnician cities: Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed; and a fleet of fifty transports, which entered without distrust the captive harbors, brought a seasonable supply of arms and provisions to the camp of the Saracens. Their labors were terminated by the unexpected surrender of Cæsarea: the Roman prince had embarked in the night, and the defenseless citizens solicited their pardon with an offering of two hundred thousand pieces of

gold. The remainder of the province, Ramlah, Ptolemais or Acre, Sichem or Neapolis, Gaza, Askalon, Berytos, Sidon, Gabala, Laodikeia, Apamea, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the scepter of the caliphs seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings.

The conduct of the six campaigns, from 633 to 639, had consumed many thousands of the Moslems. They died with the reputation and the cheerfulness of martyrs, and the simplicity of their faith may be expressed in the words of an Arabian youth, when he embraced, for the last time, his sister and mother. "It is not," said he, "the delicacies of Syria, or the fading delights of this world, that have prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion. But I seek the favor of God and his Apostle; and I have heard, from one of the companions of the Prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs will be lodged in the crops of green birds, who shall taste the fruits, and drink of the rivers, of Paradise. Farewell, we shall meet again among the groves and fountains which God has provided for his elect." The faithful captives might exercise a passive and more arduous resolution; and a cousin of Mohammed is celebrated for refusing, after an abstinence of three days, the wine and pork, the only nourishment that was allowed by the malice of the infidels. The frailty of some weaker brethren exasperated the implacable spirit of fanaticism; and the father of Amer deplored, in pathetic strains, the apostasy and damnation of a son, who had renounced the promises of God, and the intercession of the Prophet, to occupy, with the priests and deacons, the lowest mansions of hell. The more fortunate Arabs who survived the war and persevered in the faith were restrained by their abstemious leader from the abuse of prosperity. After a refreshment of three days Abu Obaidah withdrew his troops from the pernicious contagion of the luxury of Antioch, and assured the caliph that their religion and virtue could only be preserved by the hard discipline of poverty and labor. But the virtue of Omar, however rigorous to himself, was kind and liberal to his brethren. After a just tribute of praise and thanksgiving, he dropped a tear of compassion; and sitting down on the ground, wrote an answer, in which he mildly censured the severity of his lieutenant. "God," said the successor of the Prophet, "has not forbidden the use of the good things of this world to faithful men, and such as have performed good works. Therefore you ought to

have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good things which the country affordeth. If any of the Saracens have no family in Arabia, they may marry in Syria; and whosoever of them wants any female slaves, he may purchase as many as he hath occasion for." The conquerors prepared to use, or to abuse, this gracious permission; but the year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and 25,000 Saracens were snatched away from the possession of Syria. The death of Abu Obaidah might be lamented by the Christians; but his brethren recollected that he was one of the ten elect whom the Prophet had named as the heirs of paradise. Khalid survived his brethren about three years, and the tomb of the Sword of God is shown in the neighborhood of Emesa. His valor, which founded in Arabia and Syria the empire of the caliphs, was fortified by the opinion of a special providence; and as long as he wore a cap, which had been blessed by Mohammed, he deemed himself invulnerable amid the darts of the infidels.

The place of the first conquerors was supplied by a new generation, and in the years from 639 to 655, Syria became the seat and support of the house of Omayyah, and the revenue, the soldiers, the ships, of that powerful kingdom were consecrated to enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs. But the Saracens despise a superfluity of fame, and their historians scarcely condescend to mention the subordinate conquests which are lost in the splendor and rapidity of their victorious career. To the north of Syria they passed Mount Taurus, and reduced to their obedience the province of Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus, the ancient monument of the Assyrian kings. Beyond a second ridge of the same mountains they spread the flame of war, rather than the light of religion, as far as the shores of the Euxine and the neighborhood of Constantinople. To the east they advanced to the banks and sources of the Euphrates and Tigris: the long-disputed barrier of Rome and Persia was forever confounded; the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor or Nushirvan, were leveled in the dust; and the holy city of Abgarus might vainly produce the epistle or the image of Christ to an unbelieving conqueror. To the west the Syrian kingdom is bounded by the sea, and the ruin of Aradus, a small island or peninsula on the coast, was postponed during ten years. But the hills of Libanus abounded in timber, the trade of Phœnicia

was populous in mariners, and a fleet of seventeen hundred barks was equipped and manned by the natives of the desert. The imperial navy of the Romans fled before them from the Pamphylian rocks to the Hellespont, but the spirit of the emperor, a grandson of Heraclius, had been subdued before the combat by a dream and a pun. The Saracens rode masters of the sea, and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades were successively exposed to their rapacious visits. Three hundred years before the Christian era the memorable though fruitless siege of Rhodes by Demetrius had furnished that maritime republic with the materials and the subject of a trophy. A gigantic statue of Apollo, or the sun, seventy cubits in height, was erected at the entrance of the harbor, a monument of the freedom and the arts of Greece. After standing fifty-six years the Colossus of Rhodes was overthrown by an earthquake; but the massy trunk and huge fragments lay scattered eight centuries on the ground, and are often described as one of the wonders of the ancient world. They were collected by the diligence of the Saracens, and sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass metal; an enormous weight, though we should include the hundred colossal figures and the three thousand statues which adorned the prosperity of the city of the sun.

Chapter VII

THE SARACENS IN EGYPT AND AFRICA

THE conquest of Egypt in 639 may be explained by the character of the victorious Saracen, one of the first of his nation, in an age when even the meanest was exalted above his nature by the spirit of enthusiasm. The birth of Amru was at once base and illustrious; his mother, a notorious prostitute, was unable to decide his paternity among five of the Koreish; but the proof of resemblance adjudged the child to Aasi. The youth of Amru was impelled by the passions and prejudices of his kindred: his poetic genius was exercised in satirical verses against the person and doctrine of Mohammed; his dexterity was employed by the reigning faction to pursue the religious exiles who had taken refuge in the court of the Ethiopian king. Yet he returned from his embassy a secret proselyte; his reason or his interest determined him to renounce the worship of idols; he escaped from Mecca with his friend Khalid; and the Prophet of Medina enjoyed at the same moment the satisfaction of embracing the two firmest champions of his cause. The impatience of Amru to lead the armies of the faithful was checked by the reproof of Omar, who advised him not to seek power and dominion, since he who is a subject to-day may be a prince to-morrow. Yet his merit was not overlooked by the two first successors of Mohammed; they were indebted to his arms for the conquest of Palestine, and in all the battles and sieges of Syria he united with the temper of a chief the valor of an adventurous soldier. In a visit to Medina the caliph expressed a wish to survey the sword which had cut down so many Christian warriors; the son of Aasi unsheathed a short and ordinary scimiter, and as he perceived the surprise of Omar, "Alas," said the modest Saracen, "the sword itself, without the arm of its master, is neither sharper nor more weighty than the sword of Pharezdak the poet." After the conquest of Egypt he was recalled by the jealousy of the Caliph Othman; but in the subsequent troubles the ambition of a soldier, a statesman, and an orator emerged from

a private station. His powerful support, both in council and in the field, established the throne of the Omayyads; the administration and revenue of Egypt were restored by the gratitude of Moawiyah to a faithful friend who had raised himself above the rank of a subject; and Amru ended his days in the palace and city which he had founded on the banks of the Nile. His dying speech to his children is celebrated by the Arabians as a model of eloquence and wisdom: he deplored the errors of his youth, but if the penitent was still infected by the vanity of a poet, he might exaggerate the venom and mischief of his impious compositions.

From his camp in Palestine Amru had surprised or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt. The magnanimous Omar trusted in his God and his sword, which had shaken the thrones of Chosroes and Cæsar; but when he compared the slender force of the Moslems with the greatness of the enterprise, he condemned his own rashness and listened to his timid companions. The pride and the greatness of Pharaoh were familiar to the readers of the Koran, and a tenfold repetition of prodigies had been scarcely sufficient to effect, not the victory, but the flight, of six hundred thousand of the children of Israel. The cities of Egypt were many and populous; their architecture was strong and solid; the Nile, with its numerous branches, was alone an insuperable barrier; and the granary of the imperial city would be obstinately defended by the Roman powers. In this perplexity the commander of the faithful resigned himself to the decision of chance, or, in his opinion, of Providence. In June, 638 A. D., with only 4000 Arabs the intrepid Amru had marched from his station of Gaza, when he was overtaken by the messenger of Omar. "If you are still in Syria," said the ambiguous mandate, "retreat without delay; but if, at the receipt of this epistle, you have already reached the frontiers of Egypt, advance with confidence, and depend on the succor of God and of your brethren." The experience, perhaps the secret intelligence, of Amru had taught him to suspect the mutability of courts; and he continued his march till his tents were unquestionably pitched on Egyptian ground. He there assembled his officers, broke the seal, perused the epistle, gravely inquired the name and situation of the place, and declared his ready obedience to the commands of the caliph. After a siege of thirty days he took possession of Furmah or Pelusium, and that key of Egypt, as it has been justly named, unlocked the entrance

of the country as far as the ruins of Heliopolis and the neighborhood of the modern Cairo.

On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the Pyramids, and a short distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, 150 furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings. Under the reign of the Ptolemies and Cæsars the seat of government was removed to the seacoast; the ancient capital was eclipsed by the arts and opulence of Alexandria; the palaces, and at length the temples, were reduced to a desolate and ruinous condition: yet in the age of Augustus, and even in that of Constantine, Memphis was still numbered among the greatest and most populous of the provincial cities. The banks of the Nile, in this place of the breadth of three thousand feet, were united by two bridges of sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Roda, which was covered with gardens and habitations. The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passage of the river and the second capital of Egypt. This important fortress, which might fairly be described as a part of Memphis or Misr, was invested by the arms of the lieutenant of Omar; a reinforcement of 4000 Saracens soon arrived in his camp, and the military engines which battered the walls may be imputed to the art and labor of his Syrian allies. Yet the siege was protracted to seven months, and the rash invaders were encompassed and threatened by the inundation of the Nile. Their last assault was bold and successful: they passed the ditch, which had been fortified with iron spikes, applied their scaling ladders, entered the fortress with the shout of "God is victorious!" and drove the remnant of the Greeks to their boats and the Isle of Roda. The spot was afterward recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia; the remains of Memphis were deserted; the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent habitations; and the first mosque was blessed by the presence of fourscore companions of Mohammed. A new city arose in their camp, on the eastward bank of the Nile, and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded in their present decay by the appellation of old Misr, or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, the town of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite

caliphs. It has gradually receded from the river, but the continuity of buildings may be traced by an attentive eye from the monuments of Sesostris to those of Saladin.

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert had they not found a powerful alliance in the heart of the country. The rapid conquest of Alexander was assisted by the superstition and revolt of the natives: they abhorred their Persian oppressors, the disciples of the Magi, who had burned the temples of Egypt and feasted with sacrilegious appetite on the flesh of the god Apis. After a period of ten centuries the same revolution was renewed by a similar cause, and in the support of an incomprehensible creed the zeal of the Coptic Christians was equally ardent. The Monophysite controversy, with its violent and protracted struggles, and the persecution of the emperors, had converted a sect into a nation and alienated Egypt from the orthodox religion and government. The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite Church; and a secret and effectual treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of slaves. A rich and noble Egyptian, of the name of Mokawkas, had dissembled his faith to obtain the administration of his province. In the disorders of the Persian war he aspired to independence: the embassy of Mohammed ranked him among princes, but he declined, with rich gifts and ambiguous compliments, the proposal of a new religion. The abuse of his trust exposed him to the resentment of Heraclius: his submission was delayed by arrogance and fear; and his conscience prompted by interest to throw himself on the favor of the nation and the support of the Saracens. In his first conference with Amru he heard without indignation the usual option of the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. "The Greeks," replied Mokawkas, "are determined to abide the determination of the sword; but with the Greeks I desire no communion, either in this world or in the next, and I abjure forever the Byzantine tyrant, his synod of Chalcedon, and his Melchite slaves. For myself and my brethren, we are resolved to live and die in the profession of the gospel and unity of Christ. It is impossible for us to embrace the revelations of your Prophet; but we are desirous of peace, and cheerfully submit to pay tribute and obedience to his temporal successors." The tribute was ascertained at two pieces of gold for the head of every Christian; but old men, monks, women, and children of both sexes under sixteen

years of age, were exempted from this personal assessment. The Copts above and below Memphis swore allegiance to the caliph, and promised a hospitable entertainment of three days to every Mussulman who should travel through their country. By this charter of security the ecclesiastical and civil tyranny of the Melchites was destroyed; the anathemas of St. Cyril were thundered from every pulpit, and the sacred edifices, with the patrimony of the church, were restored to the national communion of the Jacobites, who enjoyed without moderation the moment of triumph and revenge. At the pressing summons of Amru their patriarch Benjamin emerged from his desert, and after the first interview the courteous Arab affected to declare that he had never conversed with a Christian priest of more innocent manners and a more venerable aspect. In the march from Memphis to Alexandria the lieutenant of Omar intrusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians: the roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every step of his progress he could depend on a constant supply of provisions and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the universal defection. They had ever been hated, they were no longer feared: the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop from his altar, and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved by the surrounding multitudes. Had not the Nile afforded a safe and ready conveyance to the sea not an individual could have escaped who by birth, or language, or office, or religion was connected with their odious name.

By the retreat of the Greeks from the provinces of Upper Egypt a considerable force was collected in the island of the Delta; the natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a succession of strong and defensible posts: and the road to Alexandria was laboriously cleared by the victory of the Saracens in two-and-twenty days of general or partial combat. In their annals of conquest the siege of Alexandria is perhaps the most arduous and important enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly provided with the means of subsistence and defense. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the dearest of human rights, religion and property, and the enmity of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open, and if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress fresh armies of Romans and barbarians might have

been poured into the harbor to save the second capital of the empire. A circumference of ten miles would have scattered the forces of the Greeks and favored the stratagems of an active enemy; but the two sides of an oblong square were covered by the sea and Lake Maræotis, and each of the narrow ends exposed a front of no more than ten furlongs. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne of Medina the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city. His voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria, and the merit of a holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. Anxious for the ruin or expulsion of their tyrants, the faithful natives devoted their labors to the service of Amru: some sparks of martial spirit were perhaps rekindled by the example of their allies, and the sanguine hopes of Mokawkas had fixed his sepulcher in the Church of St. John of Alexandria. Eutychius the patriarch observes that the Saracens fought with the courage of lions. They repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack the sword, the banner of Amru, glittered in the van of the Moslems. On a memorable day he was betrayed by his imprudent valor: his followers who had entered the citadel were driven back, and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amru was conducted before the prefect he remembered his dignity and forgot his situation: a lofty demeanor and resolute language revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-ax of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived: he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of their general, and insulted the folly of the infidels. At length, after a siege of fourteen months and the loss of three-and-twenty thousand men, the Saracens prevailed: the Greeks embarked their dispirited and diminished numbers, and the standard of Mohammed was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. "I have taken," said Amru to the caliph, "the great city of the west. It is impossible for

me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theaters or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory." The commander of the faithful rejected with firmness the idea of pillage, and directed his lieutenant to reserve the wealth and revenue of Alexandria for the public service and the propagation of the faith: the inhabitants were numbered; a tribute was imposed; the zeal and resentment of the Jacobites were curbed, and the Melchites who submitted to the Arabian yoke were indulged in the obscure but tranquil exercise of their worship. The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event afflicted the declining health of the emperor, and Heraclius died of a dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria. Under the minority of his grandson the clamors of a people deprived of their daily sustenance compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years the harbor and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. They were twice expelled by the valor of Amru, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia. But the facility of the attempt, the repetition of the insult, and the obstinacy of the resistance provoked him to swear that if a third time he drove the infidels into the sea he would render Alexandria as accessible on all sides as the house of a prostitute. Faithful to his promise, he dismantled several parts of the walls and towers, but the people were spared in the chastisement of the city, and the Mosque of Mercy was erected on the spot where the victorious general had stopped the fury of his troops.

I should deceive the expectation of the reader if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by the learned Abulpharagius. The spirit of Amru was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours the Arabian chief was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Ammonius, and who derived the surname of Philoponus from his laborious studies of grammar and philosophy. Emboldened by this familiar intercourse, Philoponus presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in his opinion, contemptible in that of the bar-

barians—the royal library, which alone, among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the visit and the seal of the conqueror. Amru was inclined to gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the caliph; and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless, and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience, the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the four thousand baths of the city; and such was their incredible multitude that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynasties of Abulpharagius have been given to the world in a Latin version, the tale has been repeatedly transcribed; and every scholar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irreparable shipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius of antiquity. For my own part, I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and the consequences. The fact is indeed marvelous. "Read and wonder!" says the historian himself; and the solitary report of a stranger who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the confines of Media is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply described the conquest of Alexandria. The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant to the sound and orthodox precept of the Mohammedan casuists; they expressly declare that the religious books of the Jews and Christians which are acquired by the right of war should never be committed to the flames; and that the works of profane science, historians or poets, physicians or philosophers, may be lawfully applied to the use of the faithful. A more destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed to the first successors of Mohammed; yet in this instance the conflagration would have speedily expired in the deficiency of materials. I shall not recapitulate the disasters of the Alexandrian library, the involuntary flame that was kindled by Cæsar in his own defense, or the mischievous bigotry of the Christians, who studied to destroy the monuments of idolatry. But if we gradually descend from the age of the Antonines to that of Theodosius, we shall learn from a chain of contemporary witnesses that the royal palace and the temple of Serapis no longer contained the four, or the

seven, hundred thousand volumes which had been assembled by the curiosity and magnificence of the Ptolemies. Perhaps the church and seat of the patriarchs might be enriched with a repository of books; but if the ponderous mass of Arian and Monophysite controversy were indeed consumed in the public baths, a philosopher may allow, with a smile, that it was ultimately devoted to the benefit of mankind. I sincerely regret the more valuable libraries which have been involved in the ruin of the Roman Empire; but when I seriously compute the lapse of ages, the waste of ignorance, and the calamities of war, our treasures, rather than our losses, are the objects of my surprise. Many curious and interesting facts are buried in oblivion: the three great historians of Rome have been transmitted to our hands in a mutilated state, and we are deprived of many pleasing compositions of the lyric, iambic, and dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Yet we should gratefully remember that the mischances of time and accident have spared the classic works to which the suffrage of antiquity had adjudged the first place of genius and glory: the teachers of ancient knowledge who are still extant had perused and compared the writings of their predecessors, nor can it fairly be presumed that any important truth, any useful discovery in art or nature, has been snatched away from the curiosity of modern ages.

In the administration of Egypt Amru balanced the demands of justice and policy; the interest of the people of the law, who were defended by God; and of the people of the alliance, who were protected by man. In the recent tumult of conquest and deliverance the tongue of the Copts and the sword of the Arabs were most adverse to the tranquillity of the province. To the former Amru declared that faction and falsehood would be doubly chastised; by the punishment of the accusers, whom he should detest as his personal enemies, and by the promotion of their innocent brethren, whom their envy had labored to injure and supplant. He excited the latter by the motives of religion and honor to sustain the dignity of their character, to endear themselves by a modest and temperate conduct to God and the caliph, to spare and protect a people who had trusted to their faith, and to content themselves with the legitimate and splendid rewards of their victory. In the management of the revenue he disapproved the simple but oppressive mode of a capitation, and preferred with reason a proportion of taxes deducted on every branch from the clear profits of agriculture and

commerce. A third part of the tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of the dikes and canals, so essential to the public welfare. Under his administration the fertility of Egypt supplied the dearth of Arabia, and a string of camels, laden with corn and provisions, covered almost without an interval the long road from Memphis to Medina. But the genius of Amru soon renewed the maritime communication which had been attempted or achieved by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, or the Cæsars; and a canal, at least eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile to the Red Sea. This inland navigation, which would have joined the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, was soon discontinued as useless and dangerous: the throne was removed from Medina to Damascus, and the Grecian fleets might have explored a passage to the holy cities of Arabia.

Of his new conquest the Caliph Omar had an imperfect knowledge from the voice of fame and the legends of the Koran. He requested that his lieutenant would place before his eyes the realm of Pharaoh and the Amalekites; and the answer of Amru exhibits a lively and not unfaithful picture of that singular country. "O commander of the faithful, Egypt is a compound of black earth and green plants between a pulverized mountain and a red sand. The distance from Syene to the sea is a month's journey for a horseman. Along the valley descends a river, on which the blessing of the Most High reposes both in the evening and morning, and which rises and falls with the revolutions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensation of Providence unlocks the springs and fountains that nourish the earth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through the realm of Egypt: the fields are overspread by the salutary flood, and the villages communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilizing mud for the reception of the various seeds: the crowds of husbandmen who blacken the land may be compared to a swarm of industrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the lash of the task-master and the promise of the flowers and fruits of a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived, but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit trees, and the cattle are unequally shared between those who labor and those who possess. According to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the face of the country is adorned with a silver wave, a verdant emerald, and the deep yellow of a golden

harvest." Yet this beneficial order is sometimes interrupted, and the long delay and sudden swell of the river in the first year of the conquest might afford some color to an edifying fable. It is said that the annual sacrifice of a virgin had been interdicted by the piety of Omar; and that the Nile lay sullen and inactive in his shallow bed, till the mandate of the caliph was cast into the obedient stream, which rose in a single night to the height of sixteen cubits. The admiration of the Arabs for their new conquest encouraged the license of their romantic spirit. We may read in the gravest authors that Egypt was crowded with 20,000 cities or villages; that, exclusive of the Greeks and Arabs, the Copts alone were found, on the assessment, 6,000,000 of tributary subjects, or 20,000,000 of either sex, and of every age; that 300,000,000 of gold or silver were annually paid to the treasury of the caliphs. Our reason must be startled by these extravagant assertions, and they will become more palpable if we assume the compass and measure the extent of habitable ground: a valley from the tropic to Memphis is seldom broader than 12 miles, and the triangle of the Delta, a flat surface of 2100 square leagues, composes a twelfth part of the magnitude of France. A more accurate research will justify a more reasonable estimate. The 300,000,000 created by the error of a scribe are reduced to the decent revenue of 4,300,000 pieces of gold, of which 900,000 were consumed by the pay of the soldiers. Two authentic lists, of the eighteenth and of the twelfth century, are circumscribed within the respectable number of 2700 villages and towns. After a long residence at Cairo a French consul has ventured to assign about 4,000,000 of Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews, for the ample, though not incredible, scope of the population of Egypt.

The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, was first attempted by the arms of the Caliph Othman (647-656). The pious design was approved by the companions of Mohammed and the chiefs of the tribes; and 20,000 Arabs marched from Medina, with the gifts and the blessing of the commander of the faithful. They were joined in the camp of Memphis by 20,000 of their countrymen, and the conduct of the war was intrusted to Abdallah, the son of Said and the foster-brother of the caliph, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. Yet the favor of the prince and the merit of his favorite could not obliterate the guilt of his apostasy. The early conversion of

Abdallah, and his skillful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the sheets of the Koran. He betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice, and expose the ignorance of the Apostle. After the conquest of Mecca he fell prostrate at the feet of Mohammed; his tears, and the entreaties of Othman, extorted a reluctant pardon, but the Prophet declared that he had so long hesitated, to allow time for some zealous disciple to avenge his injury in the blood of the apostate. With apparent fidelity and effective merit he served the religion which it was no longer his interest to desert: his birth and talents gave him an honorable rank among the Koreish, and in a nation of cavalry Abdallah was renowned as the boldest and most dexterous horseman of Arabia. At the head of 40,000 Moslems he advanced from Egypt into the unknown countries of the west. The sands of Barka might be impervious to a Roman legion, but the Arabs were attended by their faithful camels, and the natives of the desert beheld without terror the familiar aspect of the soil and climate. After a painful march they pitched their tents before the walls of Tripoli, a maritime city in which the name, the wealth, and the inhabitants of the province had gradually centered, and which now maintains the third rank among the states of Barbary. A reinforcement of Greeks was surprised and cut in pieces on the seashore, but the fortifications of Tripoli resisted the first assaults, and the Saracens were tempted by the approach of the prefect Gregory to relinquish the labors of the siege for the perils and the hopes of a decisive action. If his standard was followed by 120,000 men, the regular bands of the empire must have been lost in the naked and disorderly crowd of Africans and Moors, who formed the strength, or rather the numbers, of his host. He rejected with indignation the option of the Koran or the tribute, and during several days the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the excessive heat compelled them to seek shelter and refreshment in their respective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and spirit, is said to have fought by his side. From her earliest youth she was trained to mount on horseback, to draw the bow, and to wield the scimiter, and the richness of her arms and apparel were conspicuous in the foremost ranks of the battle. Her hand, with a hundred thousand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general,

and the youth of Africa were excited by the prospect of the glorious prize. At the pressing solicitation of his brethren Abdallah withdrew his person from the field, but the Saracens were discouraged by the retreat of their leader, and the repetition of these equal or unsuccessful conflicts.

A noble Arabian, who afterward became the adversary of Ali, and the father of a caliph, had signalized his valor in Egypt, and Zobeir was the first who planted the scaling-ladder against the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the standard of Abdallah. On the news of the battle Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks and pressed forward, without tasting either food or repose, to partake of the dangers of his brethren. He cast his eyes round the field: "Where," said he, "is our general?" "In his tent." "Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?" Abdallah represented with a blush the importance of his own life and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman prefect. "Retort," said Zobeir, "on the infidels their ungenerous attempt. Proclaim through the ranks that the head of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold." To the courage and discretion of Zobeir the lieutenant of the caliph intrusted the execution of his own stratagem, which inclined the long-disputed balance in favor of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents, while the remainder prolonged an irregular skirmish with the enemy till the sun was high in the heavens. On both sides they retired with fainting steps. Their horses were unbridled, their armor was laid aside, and the hostile nations prepared, or seemed to prepare, for the refreshment of the evening and the encounter of the ensuing day. On a sudden the charge was sounded, the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors, and the long line of the Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overturned, by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky. The prefect himself was slain by the hand of Zobeir. His daughter, who sought revenge and death, was surrounded and made prisoner, and the fugitives involved in their disaster the town of Sufetula, to which they escaped from the sabers and lances of the Arabs. Sufetula was built 150 miles to the south of Carthage. A gentle de-

clivity is watered by a running stream, and shaded by a grove of juniper trees, and in the ruins of a triumphal arch, a portico and three temples of the Corinthian order curiosity may yet admire the magnificence of the Romans. After the fall of this opulent city the provincials and barbarians implored on all sides the mercy of the conqueror. His vanity or his zeal might be flattered by offers of tribute or professions of faith, but his losses, his fatigues, and the progress of an epidemical disease prevented a solid establishment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retreated to the confines of Egypt, with the captives and the wealth of their African expedition. The caliph's fifth was granted to a favorite, on the nominal payment of five hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the state was doubly injured by this fallacious transaction, if each foot-soldier had shared one thousand, and each horseman three thousand, pieces, in the real division of the plunder. The author of the death of Gregory was expected to have claimed the most precious reward of the victory: from his silence it might be presumed that he had fallen in the battle, till the tears and exclamations of the prefect's daughter at the sight of Zobeir revealed the valor and modesty of that gallant soldier. The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almost rejected as a slave, by her father's murderer, who coolly declared that his sword was consecrated to the service of religion; and that he labored for a recompense far above the charms of mortal beauty or the riches of this transitory life. A reward congenial to his temper was the honorable commission of announcing to the Caliph Othman the success of his arms. The companions, the chiefs, and the people were assembled in the mosque of Medina, to hear the interesting narrative of Zobeir; and as the orator forgot nothing except the merit of his own counsels and actions, the name of Abdallah was joined by the Arabians with the heroic names of Khalid and Amru.

The western conquests of the Saracens were suspended nearly twenty years, till their dissensions were composed by the establishment of the house of Omayyah; and the Caliph Moawiyah was invited by the cries of the Africans themselves. The successors of Heraclius had been informed of the tribute which they had been compelled to stipulate with the Arabs, but instead of being moved to pity and relieve their distress, they imposed, as an equivalent or a fine, a second tribute of a similar amount. The ears of the Byzantine ministers were shut against the complaints of their

poverty and ruin. Their despair was reduced to prefer the dominion of a single master, and the extortions of the patriarch of Carthage, who was invested with civil and military power, provoked the sectaries, and even the Catholics of the Roman province, to abjure the religion as well as the authority of their tyrants. The first lieutenant of Moawiyah acquired a just renown, subdued an important city, defeated an army of thirty thousand Greeks, swept away fourscore thousand captives, and enriched with their spoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt. But the title of conquerer of Africa is more justly due to his successor Okbah. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs, and the genuine force of the Moslems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and conversion of many thousand barbarians. It would be difficult, nor is it necessary, to trace the accurate line of the progress of Okbah. The interior regions have been peopled by the Orientals with fictitious armies and imaginary citadels. In the warlike province of Zab, or Numidia, fourscore thousand of the natives might assemble in arms; but the number of 360 towns is incompatible with the ignorance or decay of husbandry, and a circumference of three leagues will not be justified by the ruins of Erbe or Lambesa, the ancient metropolis of that inland country. As we approach the seacoast the well-known cities of Bugia and Tangier define the more certain limits of the Saracen victories. A remnant of trade still adheres to the commodious harbor of Bugia, which in a more prosperous age is said to have contained about twenty thousand houses, and the plenty of iron which is dug from the adjacent mountains might have supplied a braver people with the instruments of defense. The remote position and venerable antiquity of Tingi, or Tangier, have been decorated by the Greek and Arabian fables, but the figurative expressions of the latter, that the walls were constructed of brass, and that the roofs were covered with gold and silver, may be interpreted as the emblems of strength and opulence. The province of Mauritania Tingitana, which assumed the name of the capital, had been imperfectly discovered and settled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a narrow pale, and the more southern parts were seldom explored except by the agents of luxury, who searched the forests for ivory and the citron wood, and the shores of the ocean for the purple shell-fish. The fearless Okbah plunged into the heart of the country, traversed the wilderness in which his successors

erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco, and at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert. The river Sus descends from the western side of Mount Atlas, fertilizes, like the Nile, the adjacent soil, and falls into the sea at a moderate distance from the Canary, or Fortunate, Islands. Its banks were inhabited by the last of the Moors, a race of savages, without laws, or discipline, or religion; they were astonished by the strange and irresistible terrors of the Oriental arms, and as they possessed neither gold nor silver, the richest spoil was the beauty of the female captives, some of whom were afterward sold for a thousand pieces of gold. The career, though not the zeal, of Okbah was checked by the prospect of a boundless ocean. He spurred his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven, exclaimed with a tone of a fanatic, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other Gods than thee." Yet this Mohammedan Alexander, who sighed for new worlds, was unable to preserve his recent conquests. By the universal defection of the Greeks and Africans he was recalled from the shores of the Atlantic, and the surrounding multitudes left him only the resource of an honorable death. The last scene was dignified by an example of national virtue. An ambitious chief, who had disputed the command and failed in the attempt, was led about as a prisoner in the camp of the Arabian general. The insurgents had trusted to his discontent and revenge; he disdained their offers, and revealed their designs. In the hour of danger the grateful Okbah unlocked his fetters and advised him to retire; he chose to die under the banner of his rival. Embracing as friends and martyrs, they unsheathed their scimiters, broke their scabbards, and maintained an obstinate combat, till they fell by each other's side on the last of their slaughtered countrymen. The third general or governor of Africa, Zuheir, avenged and encountered the fate of his predecessor. He vanquished the natives in many battles; he was overthrown by a powerful army, which Constantinople had sent to the relief of Carthage.

It had been the frequent practice of the Moorish tribes to join the invaders, to share the plunder, to profess the faith, and to revolt to their savage state of independence and idolatry, on the first retreat or misfortune of the Moslems. The prudence of

Okbah had proposed to found an Arabian colony in the heart of Africa; a citadel that might curb the levity of the barbarians, a place of refuge to secure against the accidents of war the wealth and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under the modest title of the station of a caravan, he planted this colony in the fiftieth year of Hegira. In its present decay, Cairoan still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from which it is distant about fifty miles to the south: its inland situation, twelve miles westward of the sea, has protected the city from the Greek and Sicilian fleets. When the wild beasts and serpents were extirpated, when the forest, or rather wilderness, was cleared, the vestiges of a Roman town were discovered in a sandy plain: the vegetable food of Cairoan is brought from afar, and the scarcity of springs constrains the inhabitants to collect in cisterns and reservoirs a precarious supply of rain water. These obstacles were subdued by the industry of Okbah; he traced a circumference of 3600 paces, which he encompassed with a brick wall. In the space of five years the governor's palace was surrounded with a sufficient number of private habitations, a spacious mosque was supported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble, and Cairoan became the seat of learning as well as of empire. But these were the glories of a later age; the new colony was shaken by the successive defeats of Okbah and Zuheir, and the western expeditions were again interrupted by the civil discord of the Arabian monarchy. The son of the valiant Zobeir maintained a war of twelve years, a siege of seven months against the house of Omayyah. Abdallah was said to unite the fierceness of the lion with the subtlety of the fox, but if he inherited the courage, he was devoid of the generosity, of his father.

The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmalek to resume the conquest of Africa; the standard was delivered to Hassan, governor of Egypt, and the revenue of that kingdom, with an army of 40,000 men, was consecrated to the important service. In the vicissitudes of war the interior provinces had been alternately won and lost by the Saracens. But the seacoast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; the predecessors of Hassan had respected the name and fortifications of Carthage; and the number of its defenders was recruited by the fugitives of Cabes and Tripoli. From 692 to 698 A. D. the arms of Hassan were fortunate. He reduced and pillaged the metropolis of Africa, and the

mention of scaling-ladders may justify the suspicion that he anticipated, by a sudden assault, the more tedious operations of a regular siege. But the joy of the conquerors was soon disturbed by the appearance of the Christian allies. The prefect and patrician John, a general of experience and renown, embarked at Constantinople the forces of the Eastern Empire; they were joined by the ships and soldiers of Sicily, and a powerful reinforcement of Goths was obtained from the fears and religion of the Spanish monarch. The weight of the confederate navy broke the chain that guarded the entrance of the harbor; the Arabs retired to Cairoan, or Tripoli, the Christians landed; the citizens hailed the ensign of the cross, and the winter was idly wasted in the dream of victory or deliverance. But Africa was irrecoverably lost; the zeal and resentment of the commander of the faithful prepared in the ensuing spring a more numerous armament by sea and land; and the patrician in his turn was compelled to evacuate the post and fortifications of Carthage. A second battle was fought in the neighborhood of Utica: the Greeks and Goths were again defeated; and their timely embarkation saved them from the sword of Hassan, who had invested the slight and insufficient rampart of their camp. Whatever yet remained of Carthage was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido and Cæsar lay desolate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the old circumference was repeopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the second capital of the west was represented by a mosque, a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles V. had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have perished, and the place might be unknown if some broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footsteps of the inquisitive traveler.

The Greeks were expelled, but the Arabians were not yet masters of the country. In the interior provinces the Moors or Berbers, so feeble under the first Cæsars, so formidable to the Byzantine princes, maintained a disorderly resistance to the religion and power of the successors of Mohammed. Under the standard of their queen, Cahina, the independent tribes acquired some degree of union and discipline; and as the Moors respected

in their females the character of a prophetess, they attacked the invaders with an enthusiasm similar to their own. The veteran bands of Hassan were inadequate to the defense of Africa. The conquests of an age were lost in a single day, and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired to the confines of Egypt, and expected, five years, the promised succors of the caliph. After the retreat of the Saracens the victorious prophetess assembled the Moorish chiefs and recommended a measure of strange and savage policy. "Our cities," said she, "and the gold and silver which they contain, perpetually attract the arms of the Arabs. These vile metals are not the objects of our ambition; we content ourselves with the simple productions of the earth. Let us destroy these cities; let us bury in their ruins those pernicious treasures; and when the avarice of our foes shall be destitute of temptation, perhaps they will cease to disturb the tranquillity of a warlike people." The proposal was accepted with unanimous applause. From Tangier to Tripoli the buildings, or at least the fortifications, were demolished, the fruit trees were cut down, the means of subsistence were extirpated, a fertile and populous garden was changed into a desert, and the historians of a more recent period could discern the frequent traces of the prosperity and devastation of their ancestors. Such is the tale of the modern Arabians. Yet I strongly suspect that their ignorance of antiquity, the love of the marvelous, and the fashion of extolling the philosophy of barbarians, has induced them to describe, as one voluntary act, the calamities of three hundred years since the first fury of the Donatists and Vandals. In the progress of the revolt Cahina had most probably contributed her share of destruction, and the alarm of universal ruin might terrify and alienate the cities that had reluctantly yielded to her unworthy yoke. They no longer hoped, perhaps they no longer wished, the return of their Byzantine sovereigns: their present servitude was not alleviated by the benefits of order and justice, and the most zealous Catholic must prefer the imperfect truths of the Koran to the blind and rude idolatry of the Moors. The general of the Saracens was again received as the savior of the province: the friends of civil society conspired against the savages of the land, and the royal prophetess was slain in the first battle, which overturned the baseless fabric of her superstition and empire. The same spirit revived under the successor of Hassan: it was finally quelled by the activity of Musa and his two sons;

but the number of the rebels may be presumed from that of 300,000 captives, 60,000 of whom, the caliph's fifth, were sold for the profit of the public treasury. Thirty thousand of the barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops, and the pious labors of Musa, to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the Apostle of God and the commander of the faithful. In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Beduins of the desert. With the religion they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled, and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabians might be transported over the Nile and scattered through the Libyan desert, and I am not ignorant that five of the Moorish tribes still retain their barbarous idiom, with the appellation and character of white Africans.

Chapter VIII

THE SARACENS IN EUROPE

IN the progress of conquest from the north and south, the Goths and the Saracens encountered each other on the confines of Europe and Africa. In the opinion of the latter, the difference of religion is a reasonable ground of enmity and warfare.

As early as the time of Othman (644-656) their piratical squadrons had ravaged the coast of Andalusia; nor had they forgotten the relief of Carthage by the Gothic arms. In that age, as well as in the present, the kings of Spain were possessed of the fortress of Ceuta, one of the columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow strait from the opposite pillar or point of Europe. A small portion of Mauritania was still wanting to the African conquest, but Musa, in the pride of victory, was repulsed from the walls of Ceuta by the vigilance and courage of Count Julian, the general of the Goths. From his disappointment and perplexity Musa was relieved in 711 by an unexpected message of the Christian chief, who offered his place, his person, and his sword to the successors of Mohammed, and solicited the disgraceful honor of introducing their arms into the heart of Spain. If we inquire into the cause of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his daughter Cava; of a virgin who was seduced, or ravished, by her sovereign; of a father who sacrificed his religion and country to the thirst of revenge. The passions of princes have often been licentious and destructive, but this well-known tale, romantic in itself, is indifferently supported by external evidence, and the history of Spain will suggest some motives of interest and policy more congenial to the breast of a veteran statesman. After the decease or deposition of Witiza in 709, his two sons were supplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whose father, the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. The monarchy was still elective, but the sons of Witiza, educated on the steps of the throne, were impatient of a private station. Their resentment was the

more dangerous as it was varnished with the dissimulation of courts; their followers were excited by the remembrance of favors and the promise of a revolution, and their uncle, Oppas, Archbishop of Toledo and Seville, was the first person in the church, and the second in the state. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the unsuccessful faction; that he had little to hope and much to fear from the new reign; and that the imprudent king could not forget or forgive the injuries which Roderic and his family had sustained. The merit and influence of the count rendered him a useful or formidable subject; his estates were ample, his followers bold and numerous, and it was too fatally shown that by his Andalusian and Mauritanian commands he held in his hand the keys of the Spanish monarchy. Too feeble, however, to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of eight hundred years. In his epistles, or in a personal interview, he revealed the wealth and nakedness of his country; the weakness of an unpopular prince, the degeneracy of an effeminate people. The Goths were no longer the victorious barbarians who had humbled the pride of Rome, despoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic Ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenæan Mountains, the successors of Alaric had slumbered in a long peace. The walls of the cities were moldered into dust, the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms, and the presumption of their ancient renown would expose them in a field of battle to the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt, but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the permission of Walid to annex the unknown kingdoms of the West to the religion and throne of the caliphs. In his residence of Tangier, Musa, with secrecy and caution, continued his correspondence and hastened his preparations. But the remorse of the conspirators was soothed by the fallacious assurance that he should content himself with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe.

Before Musa would trust an army of the faithful to the traitors and infidels of a foreign land he made a less dangerous trial of their strength and veracity. One hundred Arabs and four

hundred Africans passed over, in four vessels, from Tangier or Ceuta. The place of their descent on the opposite shore of the strait is marked by the name of Tarik, their chief, and the date of this memorable event is fixed to the month of Ramadan, of the ninety-first year of the Hegira, to the month of July, 748 years from the Spanish era of Cæsar, 710 after the birth of Christ. From their first station they marched eighteen miles through a hilly country to the castle and town of Julian: on which (it is still called Algezire) they bestowed the name of the Green Island, from a verdant cape that advances into the sea. Their hospitable entertainment, the Christians who joined their standard, their inroad into a fertile and unguarded province, the richness of their spoil, and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favorable omens of victory. In the following April 5000 veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skillful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief; and the necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar (*Gebel al Tarik*) describes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrenchments of his camp were the first outline of those fortifications, which, in the hands of Great Britain, have resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. The adjacent governors informed the court of Toledo of the descent and progress of the Arabs, and the defeat of his lieutenant, Edeco, who had been commanded to seize and bind the presumptuous strangers, admonished Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal summons the dukes and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy assembled at the head of their followers, and the title of King of the Romans, which is employed by an Arabic historian, may be excused by the close affinity of language, religion, and manners between the nations of Spain. His army consisted of 90,000 or 100,000 men; a formidable power, if their fidelity and discipline had been adequate to their numbers. The troops of Tarik had been augmented to 12,000 Saracens, but the Christian malcontents were attracted by the influence of Julian, and a crowd of Africans most greedily tasted the temporal blessings of the Koran. The town of Xeres, near Cadiz, has been made famous by the encounter (July 19-26) which determined the fate of the kingdom; the stream of the Guadalete, which falls into the bay, divided

the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating skirmishes of three successive and bloody days. On the fourth day the two armies joined a more serious and decisive issue, but Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter or car of ivory drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valor of the Saracens, they fainted under the weight of multitudes, and the plain of Xeres was overspread with 16,000 of their dead bodies. "My brethren," said Tarik to his surviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general; I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Romans." Besides the resource of despair, he confided in the secret correspondence and nocturnal interviews of Count Julian with the sons and the brother of Witiza. The two princes and the Archbishop of Toledo occupied the most important post: their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Christians; each warrior was prompted by fear or suspicion to consult his personal safety; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amid the general disorder Roderic started from his car and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses, but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bætis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courser were found on the bank, but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus. "And such," continues a valiant historian of the Arabs, "is the fate of those kings who withdraw themselves from a field of battle."

Count Julian had plunged so deep into guilt and infamy that his only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle of Xeres he recommended the most effectual measures to the victorious Saracen. "The king of the Goths is slain; their princes have fled before you, the army is routed, the nation is astonished. Secure with sufficient detachments the cities of Bætica; but in person, and without delay, march to the royal city of Toledo, and allow not the distracted Christians either time or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch." Tarik listened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte who had been enfranchised by the

caliph himself assaulted Cordova with 700 horse. He swam the river, surprised the town, and drove the Christians into the great church, where they defended themselves above three months. Another detachment reduced the seacoast of Bœtica, which in the last period of the Moorish power has comprised in a narrow space the populous kingdom of Granada. The march of Tarik from the Guadalquivir to the Tagus was directed through the Sierra Morena, that separates Andalusia and Castille, till he appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo. The most zealous of the Catholics had escaped with the relics of their saints, and if the gates were shut, it was only till the victor had subscribed a fair and reasonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to the Christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at liberty to exercise their functions, the monks to practice or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal cases to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates. But if the justice of Tarik protected the Christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions. Persecuted by the kings and synods of Spain, who had often pressed the alternative of banishment or baptism, that outcast nation embraced the moment of revenge: the comparison of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity, and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and of Mohammed was maintained till the final era of their common expulsion. From the royal seat of Toledo the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castille and Leon; but it is needless to enumerate the cities that yielded on his approach, or again to describe the table of emerald, transported from the East by the Romans, acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome, and presented by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. Beyond the Asturian Mountains the maritime town of Gijon was the term of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed, with the speed of a traveler, his victorious march of seven hundred miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat; and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. Spain, which in a more savage and disorderly state had resisted two hundred years the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months by those of the

Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and in the national dismay each part of the monarchy declined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the united strength of the whole. That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence, and the governors, who were impatient to surrender, might exaggerate the difficulty of collecting the provisions of a siege. To disarm the Christians superstition likewise contributed her terrors, and the subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies, and of the portraits of the destined conquerors of Spain that were discovered on breaking open an apartment of the royal palace. Yet a spark of the vital flame was still alive. Some invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and freedom in the Asturian valleys; the hardy mountaineers repulsed the slaves of the caliph; and the sword of Pelagius has been transformed into the scepter of the Catholic kings.

On the intelligence of this rapid success, the applause of Musa degenerated into envy; and he began, not to complain, but to fear, that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. In 712, with 10,000 Arabs and 8000 Africans he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain. The first of his companions were the noblest of the Koreish; his eldest son was left in the command of Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their father. At his landing in Algezire he was respectfully entertained by Count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testified, both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had not impaired his attachment to their cause. Some enemies yet remained for the sword of Musa. The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successively besieged and reduced by the labor of Musa, who transported his camp from the Guadalquivir to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he beheld the works of Roman magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theater, of the ancient metropolis of Lusitania, "I

should imagine," said he to his four companions, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city. Happy is the man who shall become its master!" He aspired to that happiness, but the Emeritans sustained on this occasion the honor of their descent from the veteran legionaries of Augustus. Disdaining the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain, but an ambuscade rising from the shelter of a quarry, or a ruin, chastised their indiscretion and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of assault were rolled forward to the foot of the rampart, but the defense of Merida was obstinate and long, and the castle of the martyrs was a perpetual testimony of the losses of the Moslems. The constancy of the besieged was at length subdued by famine and despair, and the prudent victor disguised his impatience under the names of clemency and esteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed, the churches were divided between the two religions, and the wealth of those who had fallen in the siege, or retired to Gallicia, was confiscated as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo the lieutenant of Musa saluted the vicegerent of the caliph and conducted him to the palace of the Gothic kings. Their first interview was cold and formal. A rigid account was exacted of the treasures of Spain, the character of Tarik was exposed to suspicion and obloquy, and the hero was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand, or the command, of Musa. Yet so strict was the discipline, so pure the zeal, or so tame the spirit, of the primitive Moslems, that after this public indignity Tarik could serve and be trusted in the reduction of the Tarragonese province. A mosque was erected at Saragossa, by the liberality of the Koreish, the port of Barcelona was opened to the vessels of Syria, and the Goths were pursued beyond the Pyrenæan Mountains into their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc. In the Church of St. Mary at Carcassone Musa found, but it is improbable that he left, seven equestrian statues of massy silver; and from his term or column of Narbonne he returned on his footsteps to the Gallician and Lusitanian shores of the ocean. During the absence of the father, his son Abdul-Aziz chastised the insurgents of Seville and reduced, from Malaga to Valentia, the seacoast of the Mediterranean. His original treaty with the discreet and valiant Theodemir will represent the manners and policy of the times. "The conditions of peace agreed and sworn between Abdul-Aziz, the son of

Musa, the son of Nassir, and Theodemir, prince of the Goths. In the name of the most merciful God, Abdul-Aziz makes peace on these conditions: that Theodemir shall not be disturbed in his principality; nor any injury be offered to the life or property, the wives and children, the religion and temples, of the Christians: that Theodemir shall freely deliver his seven cities, Orihuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mola, Vacasora, Bigerra (now Bejar), Ora (or Opta), and Lorca: that he shall not assist or entertain the enemies of the caliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their hostile designs: that himself, and each of the Gothic nobles, shall annually pay one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and vinegar; and that each of their vassals shall be taxed at one moiety of the said imposition. Given the fourth of Regeb, in the year of the Hegira ninety-four, and subscribed with the names of four Mussulman witnesses." Theodemir and his subjects were treated with uncommon lenity, but the rate of tribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the submission or obstinacy of the Christians. In this revolution many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts. Some churches were profaned by the new worship, some relics or images were confounded with idols; the rebels were put to the sword, and one town (an obscure place between Cordova and Seville) was razed to its foundations. Yet if we compare the invasion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Castille and Arragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.

The exploits of Musa were performed in the evening of life, though he affected to disguise his age by coloring with a red powder the whiteness of his beard. But in the love of action and glory his breast was still fired with the ardor of youth, and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land he was preparing to repass the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. From there, subduing the barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine Sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Anti-

och and the provinces of Syria. But his vast enterprise, perhaps of easy execution, must have seemed extravagant to vulgar minds; and the visionary conqueror was soon reminded of his dependence and servitude. The friends of Tarik had effectually stated his services and wrongs. At the court of Damascus the proceedings of Musa were blamed, his intentions were suspected, and his delay in complying with the first invitation was chastised by a harsher summons. In 714 an intrepid messenger of the caliph entered his camp at Lugo in Gallicia, and in the presence of the Saracens and Christians arrested the bridle of his horse. His own loyalty, or that of his troops, inculcated the duty of obedience; and his disgrace was alleviated by the recall of his rival and the permission of investing with his two governments his two sons, Abdallah and Abdul-Aziz. His long triumph from Ceuta to Damascus displayed the spoils of Africa and the treasures of Spain; four hundred Gothic nobles, with gold coronets and girdles, were distinguished in his train; and the number of male and female captives, selected for their birth or beauty, was computed at eighteen, or even at thirty, thousand persons. As soon as he reached Tiberias in Palestine he was apprised of the sickness and danger of the caliph by a private message from Soliman, his brother and presumptive heir, who wished to reserve for his own reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Musa would have been criminal; he pursued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge against a popular antagonist he was convicted of vanity and falsehood, and a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold either exhausted his poverty or proved his rapaciousness. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was revenged by a similar indignity, and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, stood a whole day in the sun before the palace gate, till he obtained a decent exile, under the pious name of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The resentment of the caliph might have been satiated with the ruin of Musa, but his fears demanded the extirpation of a potent and injured family. A sentence of death was intimated with secrecy and speed to the trusty servants of the throne both in Africa and Spain, and the forms, if not the substance, of justice were superseded in this bloody execution. In the mosque or palace of Cordova Abdul-Aziz was slain by the swords of the conspirators; they accused their governor of claiming the honors of royalty, and his scandalous

marriage with Egilona, the widow of Roderic, offended the prejudices both of the Christians and Moslems. By a refinement of cruelty the head of the son was presented to the father, with an insulting question whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know his features," he exclaimed, with indignation; "I assert his innocence, and I imprecate the same, a juster fate, against the authors of his death." The age and despair of Musa raised him above the power of kings, and he expired at Mecca of the anguish of a broken heart. His rival was more favorably treated. His services were forgiven, and Tarik was permitted to mingle with the crowd of slaves. I am ignorant whether Count Julian was rewarded with the death which he deserved indeed, though not from the hands of the Saracens; but the tale of their ingratitude to the sons of Witiza is disproved by the most unquestionable evidence. The two royal youths were reinstated in the private patrimony of their father, but on the decease of Eba, the elder, his daughter was unjustly despoiled of her portion by the violence of her uncle, Sigebut. The Gothic maid pleaded her cause before the Caliph Hashim, and obtained the restitution of her inheritance, but she was given in marriage to a noble Arabian, and their two sons, Isaac and Ibrahim, were received in Spain with the consideration that was due to their origin and riches.

A province is assimilated to the victorious state by the introduction of strangers and the imitative spirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been successively tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed in a few generations the name and manners of the Arabs. The first conquerors, and the twenty successive lieutenants of the caliphs, were attended by a numerous train of civil and military followers, who preferred a distant fortune to a narrow home. The private and public interest was promoted by the establishment of faithful colonies, and the cities of Spain were proud to commemorate the tribe or country of their Eastern progenitors. The victorious though motley bands of Tarik and Musa asserted, by the name of Spaniards, their original claim of conquest; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share their establishments at Murcia and Lisbon. The royal legion of Damascus was planted at Cordova; that of Emesa at Seville; that of Kinnisrin or Chalcis at Jaen; that of Palestine at Algezire and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Yemen and Persia were scattered round Toledo and the inland country, and the fertile seats of

Granada were bestowed on ten thousand horsemen of Syria and Irak, the children of the purest and most noble of the Arabian tribes. A spirit of emulation, sometimes beneficial, more frequently dangerous, was nourished by these hereditary factions. Ten years after the conquest a map of the province was presented to the caliph showing the seas, rivers, and harbors, the inhabitants and the cities, the climate, soil and the mineral productions of the earth. In the space of two centuries the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of an industrious people, and the effects of their diligence have been magnified by the idleness of their fancy. The first of the Omayyads who reigned in Spain solicited the support of the Christians; and in his edict of peace and protection he contents himself with a modest imposition of 10,000 ounces of gold, 10,000 pounds of silver, 10,000 horses, as many mules, 1000 cuirasses, with an equal number of helmets and lances. The most powerful of his successors derived from the same kingdom the annual tribute of 12,045,000 dinars or pieces of gold, about six millions of sterling money, a sum which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs. His royal seat of Cordova contained 600 mosques, 900 baths, and 200,000 houses; he gave laws to 80 cities of the first, to 300 of the second and third order; and the fertile banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with 12,000 villages and hamlets. The Arabs might exaggerate the truth, but they created and they describe the most prosperous era of the riches, the cultivation, and the populousness of Spain.

The wars of the Moslems were sanctified by the Prophet; but among the various precepts and examples of his life the caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelievers. Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mohammed; but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the nations of the earth. The polytheists and idolaters who were ignorant of his name might be lawfully extirpated by his votaries, but a wise policy supplied the obligation of justice; and after some acts of intolerant zeal the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindostan have spared the pagodas of that devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus were solemnly invited to accept the "more perfect" revelation of Mohammed; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and

religious worship. In a field of battle the forfeit lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of Islam; the females were bound to embrace the religion of their masters, and a race of sincere proselytes was gradually multiplied by the education of the infant captives. But the millions of African and Asiatic converts who swelled the native band of the faithful Arabs must have been allured, rather than constrained, to declare their belief in one God and the Apostle of God. By the repetition of a sentence and the fact of a ceremony the subject or the slave, the captive or the criminal, arose in a moment the free and equal companion of the victorious Moslems. Every sin was expiated, every engagement was dissolved: the vow of celibacy was superseded by the indulgence of nature; the active spirits who slept in the cloister were awakened by the trumpet of the Saracens; and in the convulsion of the world every member of a new society ascended to the natural level of his capacity and courage. The minds of the multitude were tempted by the invisible as well as temporal blessings of the Arabian Prophet, and charity will hope that many of his proselytes entertained a serious conviction of the truth and sanctity of his revelation. In the eyes of an inquisitive polytheist it must appear worthy of the human and the divine nature. More pure than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses, the religion of Mohammed might seem less inconsistent with reason than the creed of mystery and superstition which in the seventh century disgraced the simplicity of the Gospel.

In the extensive provinces of Persia and Africa the national religion has been eradicated by the Mohammedan faith. The ambiguous theology of the Magi stood alone among the sects of the East; but the profane writings of Zoroaster might, under the reverend name of Abraham, be dexterously connected with the chain of divine revelation. Their evil principle, the demon Ahriman, might be represented as the rival or as the creature of the god of light. The temples of Persia were devoid of images, but the worship of the sun and of fire might be stigmatized as a gross and criminal idolatry. The milder sentiment was consecrated by the practice of Mohammed and the prudence of the caliphs; the Magians or Ghebers were ranked with the Jews and Christians among the people of the written law; and as late as the third century of the Hegira the city of Herat will afford a lively contrast of private zeal and public toleration. Under the payment of an

annual tribute the Mohammedan law secured to the Ghebers of Herat their civil and religious liberties, but the recent and humble mosque was overshadowed by the antique splendor of the adjoining temple of fire. A fanatic imam deplored, in his sermons, the scandalous neighborhood, and accused the weakness or indifference of the faithful. Excited by his voice, the people assembled in tumult; the two houses of prayer were consumed by the flames, but the vacant ground was immediately occupied by the foundation of a new mosque. The injured Magi appealed to the sovereign of Khorasan. He promised justice and relief; when, behold! four thousand citizens of Herat, of a grave character and mature age, unanimously swore that the idolatrous fane had never existed; the inquisition was silenced, and their conscience was satisfied (says the historian Mirchond) with this holy and meritorious perjury. But the greatest part of the temples of Persia were ruined by the insensible and general desertion of their votaries. It was insensible, since it is not accompanied with any memorial of time or place, of persecution or resistance. It was general, since the whole realm, from Shiraz to Samarcand, imbibed the faith of the Koran; and the preservation of the native tongue reveals the descent of the Mohammedans of Persia. In the mountains and deserts an obstinate race of unbelievers adhered to the superstition of their fathers, and a faint tradition of the Magian theology is kept alive in the province of Kerman, along the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat, and in the colony which, in more recent times, was planted by Shah Abbas at the gates of Isphahan. The chief pontiff has retired to Mount Elburz, eighteen leagues from the city of Yezd. The perpetual fire (if it continue to burn) is inaccessible to the profane, but his residence is the school, the oracle, and the pilgrimage of the Ghebers, whose hard and uniform features attest the unmingled purity of their blood. Under the jurisdiction of their elders eighty thousand families maintain an innocent and industrious life. Their subsistence is derived from some curious manufactures and mechanic trades; and they cultivate the earth with the fervor of a religious duty. Their ignorance withstood the despotism of Shah Abbas, who demanded with threats and tortures the prophetic books of Zoroaster; and this obscure remnant of the Magians is spared by the moderation or contempt of their present sovereigns.

The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the

light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts which had been taught by Carthage and Rome were involved in a cloud of ignorance; the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustine was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal and numbers of the clergy declined, and the people, without discipline, or knowledge, or hope, submissively sank under the yoke of the Arabian Prophet. Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks a lieutenant of Africa informed the caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion; and, though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretense was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mohammedan faith. In the next age an extraordinary mission of five bishops was detached from Alexandria to Cairoan. They were ordained by the Jacobite patriarch to cherish and revive the dying embers of Christianity; but the interposition of a foreign prelate, a stranger to the Latins, an enemy to the Catholics, supposes the decay and dissolution of the African hierarchy. It was no longer the time when the successor of St. Cyprian, at the head of a numerous synod, could maintain an equal contest with the ambition of the Roman Pontiff. In the eleventh century the unfortunate priest who was seated on the ruins of Carthage implored the arms and the protection of the Vatican; and he bitterly complains that his naked body had been scourged by the Saracens, and that his authority was disputed by the four suffragans, the tottering pillars of his throne. Two epistles of Gregory VII. are destined to soothe the distress of the Catholics and the pride of a Moorish prince. The Pope assured the sultan that they both worship the same God, and may hope to meet in the bosom of Abraham; but the complaint that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother announces the speedy and inevitable ruin of the episcopal order. The Christians of Africa and Spain had long since submitted to the practice of circumcision and the legal abstinence from wine and pork, and the name of Mozarabes (adoptive Arabs) was applied to their civil or religious conformity. About the middle of the twelfth century the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, of Valencia and Granada. The throne of the Almohades, or Unitarians, was founded on the blindest fanaticism, and their

extraordinary rigor might be provoked or justified by the recent victories and intolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Castille, of Arragon and Portugal. The faith of the Mozarabes was occasionally revived by the Papal missionaries, and on the landing of Charles V. some families of Latin Christians were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and Algiers. But the seed of the Gospel was quickly eradicated, and the long province from Tripoli to the Atlantic has lost all memory of the language and religion of Rome.

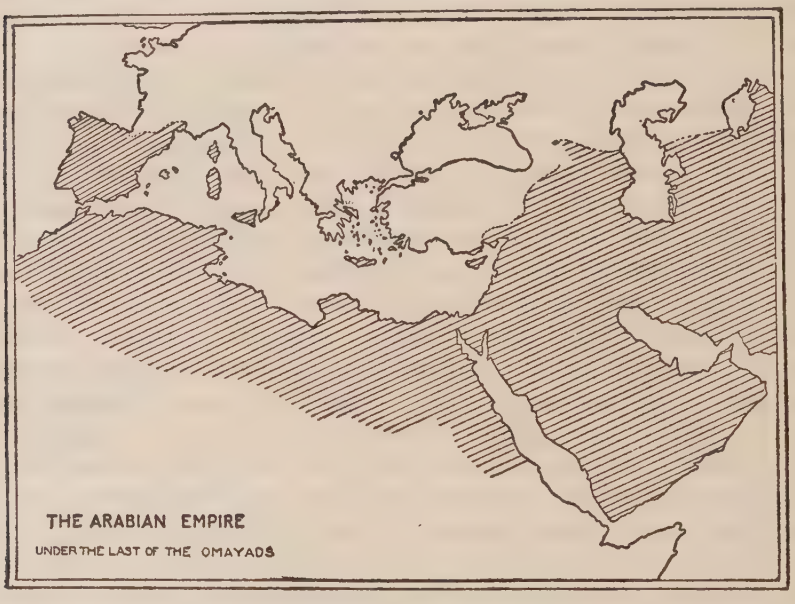
After the revolution of eleven centuries the Jews and Christians of the Turkish Empire enjoy the liberty of conscience which was granted by the Arabian caliphs. During the first age of the conquest they suspected the loyalty of the Catholics, whose name of Melchites betrayed their secret attachment to the Greek emperor, while the Nestorians and Jacobites, his inveterate enemies, approved themselves the sincere and voluntary friends of the Mohammedan government. Yet this partial jealousy was healed by time and submission, the churches of Egypt were shared with the Catholics, and all the Oriental sects were included in the common benefits of toleration. The rank, the immunities, the domestic jurisdiction of the patriarchs, the bishops, and the clergy were protected by the civil magistrate: the learning of individuals recommended them to the employments of secretaries and physicians: they were enriched by the lucrative collection of the revenue; and their merit was sometimes raised to the command of cities and provinces. A caliph of the house of Abbas was heard to declare that the Christians were most worthy of trust in the administration of Persia. "The Moslems," said he, "will abuse their present fortune; the Magians regret their fallen greatness; and the Jews are impatient for their approaching deliverance." But the slaves of despotism are exposed to the alternatives of favor and disgrace. The captive churches of the East have been afflicted in every age by the avarice or bigotry of their rulers, and the ordinary and legal restraints must be offensive to the pride, or the zeal, of the Christians. About two hundred years after Mohammed they were separated from their fellow-subjects by a turban or girdle of a less honorable color; instead of horses or mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in the attitude of women. Their public and private buildings were measured by a diminutive standard; in the streets or the baths it is their duty to give way or bow down before the meanest of the people; and their testimony is rejected, if it may

tend to the prejudice of a true believer. The pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, is interdicted in their worship, a decent reverence for the national faith is imposed on their sermons and conversations, and the sacrilegious attempt to enter a mosque, or to seduce a Mussulman, will not be suffered to escape with impunity. In a time, however, of tranquillity and justice the Christians have never been compelled to renounce the Gospel or to embrace the Koran; but the punishment of death is inflicted upon the apostates who have professed and deserted the law of Mohammed. The martyrs of Cordova provoked the sentence of the cadi by the public confession of their inconstancy, or their passionate invectives against the person and religion of the Prophet.

At the end of the first century of the Hegira the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumscribed, either in right or in fact by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the companions of Mohammed expired with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind, in the desert, the spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mohammed, and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their own expense. Under the last of the Omayyads the Arabian Empire extended two hundred days' journey from east to west, from the confines of Tatary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. And if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is styled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan. We should vainly seek the indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines; but the progress of the Mohammedan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville; the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and

brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca, and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris.

When the Arabs first issued from the desert they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees; when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their scimiters and the energy of their faith, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of



the successor of the Prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The deserts of Scythia and Sarmatia might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, and the courage of the northern shepherds; China was remote and inaccessible; but the greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mohammedan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians

of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this inquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain and their neighbors of Gaul from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defense of the Christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

Forty-six years after the flight of Mohammed from Mecca his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople. They were animated by a genuine or fictitious saying of the Prophet, that to the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars their sins were forgiven: the long series of Roman triumphs would be meritoriously transferred to the conquerors of New Rome; and the wealth of nations was deposited in this well-chosen seat of royalty and commerce. No sooner had the Caliph Moawiyah suppressed his rivals and established his throne than he aspired to expiate the guilt of civil blood by the success and glory of this holy expedition; his preparations by sea and land were adequate to the importance of the object; his standard was intrusted to Sufyan, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons to fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grandfather, Heraclius. Without delay or opposition the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, which even now, under the feeble and disorderly government of the Turks, is maintained as the natural bulwark of the capital. The Arabian fleet cast anchor and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. During many days, from the dawn of light to the evening, the line of assault was extended from the golden gate to the eastern promontory, and the foremost warriors were impelled by the weight and effort of the succeeding columns. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline; the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire; the fugitives from the conquered provinces more successfully renewed the defense of

Damascus and Alexandria; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from the month of April to that of September, in the winter of 668 they retreated fourscore miles from the capital to the Isle of Cyzicus, in which they had established their magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repeated in the six following summers the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigor, till the mischances of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise. They might bewail the loss, or commemorate the martyrdom, of thirty thousand Moslems, who fell in the siege of Constantinople; and the solemn funeral of Abu Ayub, or Job, excited the curiosity of the Christians themselves. That venerable Arab, one of the last of the companions of Mohammed, was numbered among the ansars, or auxiliaries, of Medina, who sheltered the head of the flying Prophet. In his youth he fought, at Beder and Ohud, under the holy standard; in his mature age he was the friend and follower of Ali; and the last remnant of his strength and life was consumed in a distant and dangerous war against the enemies of the Koran. His memory was revered, but the place of his burial was neglected and unknown during a period of 780 years, till the conquest of Constantinople by Mohammed II. in 1453. A vision (for such are the manufacture of every religion) revealed the holy spot at the foot of the walls and the bottom of the harbor, and the Mosque of Ayub has been deservedly chosen for the simple and martial inauguration of the Turkish sultans.

The result of the siege revived, both in the East and West, the reputation of the Roman arms and cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambassador was favorably received at Damascus, in a general council of the emirs or Koreish; a peace, or truce, of thirty years was ratified between the two empires, and the stipulation of an annual tribute, fifty horses of a noble breed, fifty slaves, and three thousand pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the commander of the faithful. The aged caliph was desirous of possessing his dominions and ending his days in tranquillity and repose: while the Moors and Indians

trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Maronites, of Mount Libanus (Lebanon), the firmest barrier of the empire, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks. After the revolt of Arabia and Persia the house of Omayyah was reduced to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt; their distress and fear enforced their compliance with the pressing demands of the Christians, and the tribute was increased to a slave, a horse, and a thousand pieces of gold, for each of the 365 days of the solar year. But as soon as the empire was again united by the arms and policy of Abdul-Malik, he disclaimed a badge of servitude not less injurious to his conscience than to his pride; he discontinued the payment of the tribute, and the resentment of the Greeks was disabled from action by the mad tyranny of the second Justinian, the just rebellion of his subjects, and the frequent change of his antagonists and successors. Till the reign of Abdul-Malik (685-705) the Saracens had been content with the free possession of the Persian and Roman treasures, in the coins of Chosroes and Cæsar. By the command of that caliph a national mint was established, both for silver and gold, and the inscription of the dinar, though it might be censured by some timorous casuists, proclaimed the unity of the God of Mohammed. Under the reign of the Caliph Walid the Greek language and characters were excluded from the accounts of the public revenue. If this change was productive of the invention or familiar use of our present numerals, the Arabic or Indian ciphers, as they are commonly styled, a regulation of office has promoted the most important discoveries of arithmetic, algebra, and the mathematical sciences.

While the Caliph Walid sat idle on the throne of Damascus, while his lieutenants achieved the conquest of Transoxiana and Spain, a third army of Saracens overspread the provinces of Asia Minor in the years 716 to 718 and approached the Byzantine capital. But the disgrace of the second siege was reserved for his brother, Soliman, whose ambition appears to have been quickened by a more active and martial spirit. In the revolutions of the Greek Empire, after the tyrant Justinian had been punished and avenged, an humble secretary, Anastasius or Artemius, was promoted by chance or merit to the vacant purple. He was alarmed by the sound of war, and his ambassador returned from Damascus with the tremendous news that the Saracens were preparing an armament by sea and land, such as would transcend the experience of

the past, or the belief of the present age. The precautions of Anastasius were not unworthy of his station or of the impending danger. He issued a peremptory mandate that all persons who were not provided with the means of subsistence for a three years' siege should evacuate the city: the public granaries and arsenals were abundantly replenished; the walls were restored and strengthened; and the engines for casting stones, or darts, or fire, were stationed along the ramparts, or in the brigantines of war, of which an additional number was hastily constructed. To prevent is safer, as well as more honorable, than to repel, an attack; and a design was meditated, above the usual spirit of the Greeks, of burning the naval stores of the enemy, the cypress timber that had been hewn in Mount Lebanon, and was piled along the seashore of Phœnicia, for the service of the Egyptian fleet. This generous enterprise was defeated by the cowardice or treachery of the troops, who, in the new language of the empire, were styled of the Obsequian Theme. They murdered their chief, deserted their standard in the Isle of Rhodes, dispersed themselves over the adjacent continent, and deserved pardon or reward by investing with the purple a simple officer of the revenue. The name of Theodosius might recommend him to the senate and people, but after some months he sank into a cloister, in 717, resigning to the firmer hand of Leo the Isaurian the defense of the capital and empire. The most formidable of the Saracens, Moslemah, the brother of the caliph, was advancing at the head of 120,000 Arabs and Persians, the greater part mounted on horses or camels; and the successful sieges of Tyana, Amorium, and Pergamus were of sufficient duration to exercise their skill and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont, the Mohammedan arms were transported, for the first time, from Asia to Europe. From there, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moslemah invested Constantinople on the land side, surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of assault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient resolution of awaiting the return of seed-time and harvest should the obstinacy of the besieged prove equal to his own. The Greeks would gladly have ransomed their religion and empire by a fine or assessment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the city, but the liberal offer was rejected with disdain, and the presumption of Moslemah was exalted by the speedy approach and invincible force

of the natives of Egypt and Syria. They are said to have amounted to eighteen hundred ships: the number betrays their inconsiderable size; and of the twenty stout and capacious vessels, whose magnitude impeded their progress, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy-armed soldiers. This huge armada proceeded on a smooth sea, and with a gentle gale, toward the mouth of the Bosporus; the surface of the strait was overshadowed, in the language of the Greeks, with a moving forest, and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy the emperor had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbor; but while they hesitated whether they should seize the opportunity, or apprehend the snare, the ministers of destruction were at hand. The fireships of the Greeks were launched against them; the Arabs, their arms, and vessels, were involved in the same flames; the disorderly fugitives were dashed against each other or overwhelmed in the waves; and scarcely a vestige remained of the fleet that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the Caliph Soliman, who died of an indigestion, in his camp near Kinnisrin or Chalcis in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot. While he started and satisfied the scruples of a blind conscience, the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect, rather than by the resolution, of the Caliph Omar. The winter proved uncommonly rigorous: above a hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring; a second effort had been made in their favor; and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of 400 transports and galleys, the second of 360 vessels from the ports of Africa. But Greek fires were again kindled, and if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the Moslems to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored; and the produce

of the fisheries supplied the wants, and even the luxury, of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably assuaged, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unclean or unnatural food. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either singly or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo, and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire by the defeat and slaughter of 22,000 Asiatics. A report was dexterously scattered that the Franks, the unknown nations of the Latin world, were arming by sea and land in the defense of the Christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in the camp and city. At length, after a siege of thirteen months, the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont and through the provinces of Asia was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire that only five galleys entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.

In the two sieges the deliverance of Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy of the "Greek fire." The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor. The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succor of fleets and armies; and this discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the distressful period when the degenerate Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigor of the Saracens. The historian who presumes to analyze this extraordinary composition should suspect his own ignorance and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvelous, so careless, and, in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious, hints it should seem that the

principal ingredient of the Greek fire was naphtha, mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from evergreen firs. From this mixture, which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burned with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress; instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened by the element of water; and sand, urine, or vinegar were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks the liquid, or the maritime, fire. For the annoyance of the enemy it was employed with equal effect by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the rampart in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil; sometimes it was deposited in fire-ships, the victims and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople as the palladium of the state: the galleys and artillery might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome, but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. In the treatise of the administration of the empire the royal author suggests the answers and excuses that might best elude the indiscreet curiosity and importunate demands of the barbarians. They should be told that the mystery of the Greek fire has been revealed by an angel to the first and greatest of the Constantines, with a sacred injunction that this gift of Heaven, this peculiar blessing of the Romans, should never be communicated to any foreign nation; that the prince and subject were alike bound to religious silence under the temporal and spiritual penalties of treason and sacrilege; and that the impious attempt would provoke the sudden and supernatural vengeance of the God of the Christians. By these precautions the secret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the East; and at the end of the eleventh century the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without un-

derstanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mohammedans; and in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the Christians. A knight who despised the swords and lances of the Saracens relates, with heartfelt sincerity, his own fears, and those of his companions, at the sight and sound of the mischievous engine that discharged a torrent of the Greek fire, the *feu Gregeois,* as it is styled by the more early French writers. It came flying through the air, says Joinville, like a winged long-tailed dragon, about the thickness of a hogshead, with the report of thunder and the velocity of lightning; and the darkness of the night was dispelled by this deadly illumination. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the scientific or casual compound of niter, sulphur, and charcoal effected a new revolution in the art of war and the history of mankind.

Constantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe, but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain. The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these insatiate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit, and their misfortune or demerit has affixed the epithet of lazy to the last kings of the Merovingian race. They ascended the throne without power, and sank into the grave without a name. A country palace in the neighborhood of Compiegne was allotted for their residence or prison, but each year, in the month of March or May, they were conducted in a wagon drawn by oxen to the assembly of the Franks, to give audience to foreign ambassadors, and to ratify the acts of the mayor of the palace. That domestic officer was become the minister of the nation and the master of the prince. A public employment was converted into the patrimony of a private family. The elder Pepin left a king of mature years under the guardianship of his own widow and her child, and these feeble regents were forcibly dispossessed by the most active of his bastards. A government, half savage and half corrupt, was almost dissolved, and the tributary dukes and provincial counts, and the territorial lords were tempted to despise the weakness of the monarch and to imitate the ambition

of the mayor. Among these independent chiefs one of the boldest and most successful was Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, who in the southern provinces of Gaul usurped the authority, and even the title, of king. The Goths, the Gascons, and the Franks assembled under the standard of this Christian hero. He repelled the first invasion of the Saracens, and Zama, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Toulouse in 721. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge; they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne as the first Roman colony was again chosen by the Moslems. They claimed the province of Septimania or Languedoc as a just dependence of the Spanish monarchy: the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bourdeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abd ar-Rahman, Caliph of Cordova from 731 to 738, who had been restored by the Caliph Hashim to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the Prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe, and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. His first care was to suppress a domestic rebel who commanded the most important passes of the Pyrenees. Manuza, a Moorish chief, had accepted the alliance of the Duke of Aquitaine, and Eudes, from a motive of private or public interest, devoted his beauteous daughter to the embraces of the African misbeliever. But the strongest fortresses of Cerdagne were invested by a superior force; the rebel was overtaken and slain in the mountains, and his widow was sent a captive to Damascus, to gratify the desires, or more probably the vanity, of the commander of the faithful. From the Pyrenees, Abd ar-Rahman proceeded without delay to the passage of the Rhone and the siege of Arles. An army of Christians attempted the relief of the city: the tombs of their leaders were yet visible in the thirteenth century, and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean Sea. The arms of Abd ar-Rahman were not less successful on the side

of the ocean. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the Gulf of Bourdeaux; but he found beyond those rivers the camp of the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a second army and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitaine, whose Gallic names are disguised, rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou: his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens, and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besancon. The memory of these devastations (for Abd ar-Rahman did not spare the country or the people) was long preserved by tradition; and the invasion of France by the Moors or Mohammedans affords the ground-work of those fables which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art the deserted cities could supply a slender booty to the Saracens; their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames: and the tutelar saints, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defense of their own sepulchers. A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mohammed.

CARAVAN OF PILGRIMS ON THE ROAD TO MECCA

Painting by K. Makowsky

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Chapter IX

FALL OF THE MOSLEM EMPIRE

FROM such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, was content with the titles of Mayor or Duke of the Franks; but he deserved to become the father of a line of kings. In the twenty-four years from 771 to 814 he restored the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhone, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger he was summoned by the voice of his country, and his rival, the Duke of Aquitaine, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an indignity! We have long heard of the name and conquests of the Arabs; we were apprehensive of their attack from the East; they have now conquered Spain, and invade our country on the side of the West. Yet their numbers, and (since they have no buckler) their arms, are inferior to our own." "If you will follow my advice," replied the prudent mayor of the palace, "you will not interrupt their march, nor precipitate your attack. They are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its career. The thirst of riches, and the consciousness of success, redouble their valor, and valor is of more avail than arms or numbers. Be patient till they have loaded themselves with the encumbrance of wealth. The possession of wealth will divide their councils and insure your victory." This subtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers; and the situation of Charles will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination—the secret desire of humbling the pride and wasting the provinces of the rebel Duke of Aquitaine. It is yet more probable that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A standing army was unknown under the first and second race; more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Sara-

cens; according to their respective situation, the Franks of Neustria and Austrasia were too conscious or too careless of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepidæ and Germans were separated by a long interval from the standard of the Christian general. No sooner had he collected his forces than he sought and found the enemy in the center of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abd ar-Rahman appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe advanced with equal ardor to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the first six days of desultory combat the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage, but in the closer onset of the seventh day the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts, and "iron" hands, asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of Martel, the Hammer, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes. The valor of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation, and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true peers and paladins of French chivalry. After a battle in 732, in which Abd ar-Rahman was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other; the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each emir consulted his safety by a hasty and separate retreat. At the dawn of day the stillness of a hostile camp was suspected by the victorious Christians. On the report of their spies they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents, but if we except some celebrated relics, a small portion of the spoil was restored to the innocent and lawful owners. The joyful tidings were soon diffused over the Catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that 350,000 or 375,000 of the Mohammedans had been crushed by the hammer of Charles, while no more than 1500 Christians were slain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is sufficiently disproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended the snares and accidents of a pursuit, and dismissed his German allies to their native forests. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is in-

flicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final. Aquitaine was recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.

The loss of an army or a province in the Western world was less painful to the court of Damascus than the rise and progress (749-750) of a domestic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the house of Omayyah had never been the object of the public favor. The life of Mohammed recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion: their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and noble blood of Arabia. The best of their race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his own title: their personal virtues were insufficient to justify a departure from the order of succession, and the eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned toward the line of Hashim and the kindred of the Apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous, but the descendants of Abbas cherished, with courage and discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria they secretly dispatched their agents and missionaries, who preached in the Eastern provinces their hereditary indefeasible right; and Mohammed, the son of Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, gave audience to the deputies of Khorasan, and accepted their free gift of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. After the death of Mohammed the oath of allegiance was administered in the name of his son Ibrahim to a numerous band of votaries, who expected only a signal and a leader; and the governor of Khorasan continued to deplore his fruitless admonitions and the deadly slumber of the caliphs of Damascus till he himself, with all his adherents, was driven from the city and palace of Merv by the rebellious arms of Abu Moslem. That maker of kings, the author, as he is named, of the "call" of the Abbasids, was at length rewarded for his presumption of merit with the usual gratitude of courts. A mean, perhaps a foreign, extraction could not repress the aspiring energy of Abu Moslem. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his wealth, prodigal of his own blood and of that of others, he could boast with pleasure and possibly with truth that he had destroyed six hundred thousand of his enemies; and such was the intrepid

gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never seen to smile except on a day of battle. In the visible separation of parties the green was consecrated to the Fatimites; the Omayyads were distinguished by the white; and the black, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abbasids. Their turbans and garments were stained with that gloomy color: two black standards, on pike staves nine cubits long, were borne aloft in the van of Abu Moslem; and their allegorical names of the night and the shadow obscurely represented the indissoluble union and perpetual succession of the line of Hashim. From the Indus to the Euphrates the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and black factions: the Abbasids were most frequently victorious; but their public success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their chief. The court of Damascus, awakening from a long slumber, resolved to prevent the pilgrimage of Mecca, which Ibrahim had undertaken with a splendid retinue, to recommend himself at once to the favor of the Prophet and of the people. A detachment of cavalry intercepted his march and arrested his person; and the unhappy Ibrahim, snatched away from the promise of untasted royalty, expired in iron fetters in the dungeons of Haran. His two younger brothers, Saffah and Almansor, eluded the search of the tyrant, and lay concealed at Cufa till the zeal of the people and the approach of his Eastern friends allowed them to expose their persons to the impatient public. On Friday, in the dress of a caliph, in the colors of the sect, Saffah proceeded with religious and military pomp to the mosque; ascending the pulpit, he prayed and preached as the lawful successor of Mohammed; and after his departure his kinsmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. But it was on the banks of the Zab, and not in the mosque of Cufa, that this important controversy was determined. Every advantage appeared to be on the side of the white faction: the authority of established government, an army of 120,000 soldiers, against a sixth part of that number, and the presence and merit of the Caliph Merwan, the fourteenth and last of the house of Omayyah. Before his accession in 744 he had deserved, by his Georgian warfare, the honorable epithet of the ass of Mesopotamia; and he might have been ranked among the greatest princes had not, says Abulfeda, the eternal order decreed that moment for the ruin of his family, a decree against which all human prudence and fortitude must struggle in vain.

The orders of Merwan were mistaken or disobeyed; the return of his horse, from which he had dismounted on a necessary occasion, impressed the belief of his death; and the enthusiasm of the black squadrons was ably conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrievable defeat the caliph escaped to Mosul, but the colors of the Abbasids were displayed from the rampart; he suddenly repassed the Tigris, cast a melancholy look on his palace of Haran, crossed the Euphrates, abandoned the fortifications of Damascus, and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last and fatal camp at Busir, on the banks of the Nile. His speed was urged by the incessant diligence of Abdallah, who in every step of the pursuit acquired strength and reputation: the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished in Egypt; and the lance, which, on February 10, 750, terminated the life and anxiety of Merwan, was not unwelcome to the unfortunate chief. The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race; their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hosein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. Fourscore of the Omayyads, who had yielded to the faith or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus. The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre: the board was spread over their fallen bodies; and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbasids was firmly establishel, but the Christians only could triumph in the mutual hatred and common loss of the disciples of Mohammed.

Yet the thousands who were swept away by the sword of war might have been speedily retrieved in the succeeding generation if the consequences of the revolution had not tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proscription of the Omayyads a royal youth of the name of Abd ar-Rahman alone escaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of Mount Atlas. His presence in the neighborhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cause of the Abbasids had been first vindicated by the Persians: the West had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by grati-

tude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandson of the Caliph Hashim to ascend the throne of his ancestors, and in his desperate condition the extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the same. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia: and after a successful struggle Abd ar-Rahman established the throne of Cordova in 756, and was the father of the Omayyads of Spain, who for over 250 years reigned from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees. He slew in battle a lieutenant of the Abbasids who had invaded his dominions with a fleet and army; the head of Ala, in salt and camphor, was suspended by a daring messenger before the palace of Mecca; and the Caliph Almansor rejoiced in his safety, that he was removed by seas and lands from such a formidable adversary. Their mutual designs or declarations of offensive war evaporated without effect, but instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was dissevered from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the Christian sovereigns of Constantinople and France. The example of the Omayyads was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrisites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In the tenth century the chair of Mohammed was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashim, yet the Abbasids were never tempted to reside either in the birthplace or the city of the Prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood, of the Omayyads; and after some hesitation Almansor, the brother and successor of Saffah, in 762 laid the foundations of Bagdad, the imperial seat of his posterity for five hundred years. The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles above the ruins of Modain: the double wall was of a circular form, and such was the rapid increase of a capital, now dwindled to a provincial town, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by 800,000 men and 60,000 women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. In this "City of Peace," amid the riches of the East, the Abbasids soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings. After his wars

and buildings Almansor left behind him in gold and silver a wealth equivalent to $150,000,000, and this treasure was exhausted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahdi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and caravansaries which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles, but his train of camels, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet. The courtiers would surely praise the liberality of his grandson Almamon, who gave away four-fifths of the income of a province, a sum of 2,400,000 gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride, and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened rather than impaired in the decline of the empire, and a Greek ambassador might admire, or pity, the magnificence of the feeble Muktadir. "The caliph's whole army," says the historian Abulfeda, "both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of 160,000 men. His state officers, the favorite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were 7000 eunuchs, 4000 of them white, the remainder black. The porters or doorkeepers were in number 700. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up 38,000 pieces of tapestry, 12,500 of which were of silk embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were 22,000. A hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion. Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and silver spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery effected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony. Through this scene of magnificence the Greek ambassador was led by the vizier to the foot of the caliph's throne." In the West the Omayyads of Spain supported with equal pomp the title of commander of the faithful. Three miles from Cordova, in honor of his favorite sultana, the third and greatest of the Abd ar-Rahmans constructed the city,

palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder. His liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skillful sculptors and architects of the age; and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Greek and Italian marble. The hall of audience was incrusted with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the center was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens one of these basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished not with water, but with the purest quicksilver. The seraglio of Abd ar-Rahman, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to 6300 persons, and he was attended to the field by a guard of 12,000 horse, whose belts and scimiters were studded with gold.

In a private condition our desires are perpetually repressed by poverty and subordination; but the lives and labors of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendid picture, and whatever may be the cool dictates of reason, there are few among us who would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts and the cares of royalty. It may therefore be of some use to borrow the experience of the same Abd ar-Rahman, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph. "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honors, power and pleasure, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to fourteen. O man! place not thy confidence in this present world!" The luxury of the caliphs, so useless to their private happiness, relaxed the nerves and terminated the progress of the Arabian Empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mohammed; and after supplying themselves with the necessaries of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abbasids were impoverished by the multitude of their wants and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object

of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleasure: the rewards of valor were embezzled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity. They sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens, and the increase of pay, the repetition of donatives, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abu Bekr and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of paradise.

Under the reign of the Omayyads the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually exposed to the dangers of the field must esteem the healing powers of medicine, or rather of surgery, but the starving physicians of Arabia murmured a complaint that exercise and temperance deprived them of the greatest part of their practice. After their civil and domestic wars the subjects of the Abbasids, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the Caliph Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mohammedan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the scepter devolved to Almamon, the seventh of the Abbasids, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science: at his command they were translated by the most skillful interpreters into the Arabic language; his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings; and the successor of Mohammed assisted with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the learned. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that they are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties. The mean ambition of the Chinese or the Turks may glory in the industry of their hands or the indulgence of their brutal appetites. Yet these dexterous artists must view, with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and pyramids of the cells of a beehive: these forti-

tudinous heroes are awed by the superior fierceness of the lions and tigers; and in their amorous enjoyments they are much inferior to the vigor of the grossest and most sordid quadrupeds. The teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of a world, which, without their aid, would again sink in ignorance and barbarism." The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Omayyads of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful; the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizier of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The fruits of instruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic: a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars, and the merit or industry of the professors was repaid with adequate stipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the studious and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the Sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal library of the Fatimites consisted of above one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Omayyads of Spain had formed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued above five hundred years, till the great eruption of the Moguls, and was coëval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the Oriental studies have languished and declined.

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far

greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit. The shelves were crowded with orators and poets, whose style was adapted to the taste and manners of their countrymen; with general and partial histories, which each revolving generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events; with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the Prophet; with the interpreters of the Koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimates of skeptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the East, which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen. Among the ideal systems which have varied with the fashion of the times, the Arabians adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall of that religion, the Peripatetics, emerging from their obscurity, prevailed in the controversies of the Oriental sects, and their founder was long afterward restored by the Mohammedans of Spain to the Latin schools. The physics, both of the Academy and the Lyceum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have retarded the progress of real knowledge. The metaphysics of infinite, or finite, spirit have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodize our ideas, and his syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters and disciples should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed

in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves. They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments of observation were supplied by the Caliph Almamon, and the land of the Chaldeans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty-four thousand miles the entire circumference of our globe. From the reign of the Abbasids to that of the grandchildren of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step toward the discovery of the solar system. In the Eastern courts the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology. But in the science of medicine the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters; in the city of Bagdad 860 physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession; in Spain the life of the Catholic princes was intrusted to the skill of the Saracens, and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art. The success of each professor must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes, but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general knowledge of anatomy, botany, and chemistry, the threefold basis of their theory and practice. A superstitious reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabians to the dissection of apes and quadrupeds; the more solid and visible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for the microscope and the injections of modern artists. Botany is an active science, and the discoveries of the torrid zone might enrich the herbal of Dioscorides with two thousand plants. Some traditionary knowledge might be secreted in the temples and monasteries of Egypt; much useful

experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures; but the science of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analyzed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalies and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals and the elixir of immortal health: the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchemy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians disdained the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their Christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version: and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian being taught to speak the language of the Saracens. The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics. They possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome: the heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion, and the history of the world before Mohammed was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste, and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I know that the classics have much to teach, and I believe that the Orientals have much to learn; the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry. The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings and asserted the rights of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might

have gradually unlocked the fetters of Eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of inquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant, and their Prophet an impostor. The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences, and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamon. To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and to reflect. Yet the foolish vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly imparted the sacred fire to the barbarians of the East.

In the bloody conflict of the Omayyads and Abbasids the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mahdi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized, in his turn, the favorable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of 95,000 Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosporus, under the command of Harun, or Aaron, the second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominous peace: and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman Empire. The Saracens had too rashly advanced into the midst of a distant and hostile land: their retreat was solicited by the promise of faithful guides and plentiful markets: and not a Greek had courage to whisper that their weary forces might be surrounded and destroyed in their necessary passage between a slippery mountain and the River Sangarius. Five years after this expedition, in 786, Harun ascended the throne of his father and his elder brother, the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the West as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the name of Al Rashid (the Just) is sullied by

the extirpation of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Barmecides; yet he could listen to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a passage of the Koran, to threaten the inattentive despot with the judgment of God and posterity. His court was adorned with luxury and science, but in a reign of three-and-twenty years Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from Khorasan to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. But when the unnatural mother of Constantine was deposed and banished, her successor, Nicephorus, resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. The epistle of the emperor to the caliph was pointed with an allusion to the game of chess, which had already spread from Persia to Greece. "The queen" (he spoke of Irene) "considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore therefore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." At these words the ambassadors cast a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his scimiter, samsamah, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper, of his blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity: "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al-Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the show of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigues of the campaign, to his favorite palace of Racca on the Euphrates; but the distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who repassed, in the depth of winter, the snows of Mount Taurus; his stratagems of policy and war were exhausted, and the perfidious Greek escaped with three wounds from a field of battle

overspread with 40,000 of his subjects. Yet the emperor was ashamed of submission, and the caliph was resolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers received pay, and were inscribed in the military roll; and above 300,000 persons of every denomination marched under the black standard of the Abbasids. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tyana and Ancyra, and invested the Pontic Heraclea, once a flourishing state, now a paltry town, but then capable of sustaining, in her antique walls, a month's siege against the forces of the East. The ruin was complete, the spoil was ample; but if Harun had been conversant with Grecian story he would have regretted the statue of Hercules, whose attributes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's hide, were sculptured in massy gold. The progress of desolation by sea and land, from the Euxine to the Isle of Cyprus, compelled the Emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty, the ruins of Heraclea were left forever as a lesson and a trophy, and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons. Yet this plurality of lords might contribute to remove the dishonor of the Roman name. After the death of their father in 809, the heirs of the caliph were involved in civil discord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, was sufficiently engaged in the restoration of domestic peace and the introduction of foreign science.

In 823, under Almamon, who in 813 had ascended the throne at Bagdad, with Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the islands of Crete and Sicily were subdued by the Arabs. The former of these conquests is disdained by their own writers, who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine historians, who now begin to cast a clearer light on the affairs of their own times. A band of Andalusian volunteers, discontented with the climate or government of Spain, explored the adventures of the sea; but as they sailed in no more than ten or twenty galleys, their warfare must be branded with the name of piracy. As the subjects and sectaries of the white party, they might lawfully invade the dominions of the black caliphs. A rebellious faction introduced them into Alexandria; they cut in pieces both friends and foes, pillaged the churches and the mosques, sold above six thousand Christian captives, and maintained their station in the capital of Egypt,

till they were oppressed by the forces and the presence of Almamon himself. From the mouth of the Nile to the Hellespont the islands and seacoasts both of the Greeks and Moslems were exposed to their depredations; they saw, they envied, they tasted the fertility of Crete, and soon returned with forty galleys to a more serious attack. The Andalusians wandered over the land fearless and unmolested; but when they descended with their plunder to the seashore their vessels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Caab, confessed himself the author of the mischief. Their clamors accused his madness or treachery. "Of what do you complain?" replied the crafty emir. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country; repose from your toils, and forget the barren place of your nativity." "And our wives and children?" "Your beauteous captives will supply the place of your wives, and in their embraces you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny." The first habitation was their camp, with a ditch and rampart, in the Bay of Suda; but an apostate monk led them to a more desirable position in the eastern parts, and the name of Candax, their fortress and colony, had been extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation of Candia. The hundred cities of the age of Minos were diminished to thirty, and of these, only one, most probably Cydonia, had courage to retain the substance of freedom and the profession of Christianity. The Saracens of Crete soon repaired the loss of their navy; and the timbers of Mount Ida were launched into the main. During a hostile period of 138 years the princes of Constantinople attacked these licentious corsairs with fruitless curses and ineffectual arms.

The loss of Sicily (827-878) was occasioned by an act of superstitious rigor. A youth, who had stolen a nun from her cloister, was sentenced by the emperor to the amputation of his tongue. Euphemius appealed to the reason and policy of the Saracens of Africa, and soon returned with the imperial purple, a fleet of 100 ships, and an army of 700 horse and 10,000 foot. They landed at Mazara near the ruins of the ancient Selinus, but after some partial victories Syracuse was delivered by the Greeks, the apostate was slain before her walls, and his African friends were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of their own horses. In their turn they were relieved by a powerful reinforcement of their brethren of Andalusia, the largest and western part of the

island was gradually reduced and the commodious harbor of Palermo was chosen for the seat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved about fifty years the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Cæsar. In the last and fatal siege her citizens displayed some remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They stood above twenty days against the battering-rams and catapults, the mines and tortoises of the besiegers, and the place might have been relieved if the mariners of the imperial fleet had not been detained at Constantinople in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The Deacon Theodosius, with the bishop and clergy, was dragged in chains from the altar to Palermo, cast into a subterraneous dungeon, and exposed to the hourly peril of death or apostacy. His pathetic, and not inelegant, complaint may be read as the epitaph of his country. From the Roman conquest to this final calamity, Syracuse, now dwindled to the primitive Isle of Ortygea, had insensibly declined. Yet the relics were still precious; the plate of the cathedral weighed five thousand pounds of silver; the entire spoil was computed at one million of pieces of gold (or about $2,000,000), and the total number of captives must have exceeded the seventeen thousand Christians who were transported from the sack of Tauromenium into African servitude. In Sicily the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated, and such was the docility of the rising generation that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbors of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis; a hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and apostles. Had the Mohammedans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the Prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West; the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa, their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads.

In the sufferings of prostrate Italy the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the Tiber in 846 and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered

as the metropolis of the Christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people, but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. Their invisible sanctity had protected them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards, but the Arabs disdained both the Gospel and the legend, and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. The Christian "idols" were stripped of their costly offerings, a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter, and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens. In their course along the Appian way they pillaged Fundi and besieged Gaeta, but they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their divisions, the Capitol was saved from the yoke of the Prophet of Mecca. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people, and their domestic force was unequal to the assault of an African emir. They claimed the protection of their Latin sovereign, but the Carlovingian standard was overthrown by a detachment of the barbarians; they meditated the restoration of the Greek emperors, but the attempt was treasonable, and the succor remote and precarious. Their distress appeared to receive some aggravation from the death of their spiritual and temporal chief, but the pressing emergency superseded the forms and intrigues of an election, and the unanimous choice of Pope Leo IV. in 847 was the safety of the church and city. This Pontiff was born a Roman, the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast, and amid the ruins of his country he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. The first days of his reign were consecrated to the purification and removal of relics, to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion, which served at least to heat the imagination and restore the hopes of the multitude. The public defense had been long neglected, not from the presumption of peace, but from the distress and poverty of the times. As far as the scantiness of his means and the shortness of his leisure would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the Tiber; and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of a hostile navy. The

Romans were assured of a short respite by the welcome news that the siege of Gaeta had been raised and that a part of the enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder, had perished in the waves.

But the storm which had been delayed soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. The Aglabite,[1] who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army. A fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbors of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the city, and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But in 849 the vigilant Leo had formed alliance with the vassals of the Greek Empire, the free and maritime states of Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi, and in the hour of danger their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia under the command of Cæsarius, the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cæsarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous Pontiff affected to inquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succor. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same God who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the sea would strengthen the hands of His champions against the adversaries of His holy name. After a similar prayer, and with equal resolution, the Moslems advanced to the attack of the Christian galleys, which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favor by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The Christians were sheltered in a friendly harbor, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of a hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger neither found, nor deserved, mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives, and the remainder were more usefully employed to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The Pontiff,

[1] The Aglabites reigned in northern Africa from the beginning of the ninth century to 909. This dynasty was succeeded by the Fatimites, 909 to 1171.

at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles, and among the spoils of this naval victory thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Galilee. By his liberality a colony of Corsicans, with their wives and children, was planted in the station of Porto, at the mouth of the Tiber: the falling city was restored for their use, the fields and vineyards were divided among the new settlers; their first efforts were assisted by a gift of horses and cattle; and the hardy exiles, who breathed revenge against the Saracens, swore to live and die under the standard of St. Peter.

The Emperor Theophilus (829-842), son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active and high-spirited princes who reigned at Constantinople during the Middle Ages. In offensive or defensive war he marched in person five times against the Saracens, formidable in his attack, esteemed by the enemy in his losses and defeats. In the last of these expeditions he penetrated into Syria and besieged the obscure town of Sozopetra, the casual birthplace of the Caliph Mutasim, whose father, Harun, was attended in peace or war by the most favored of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Persian impostor employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favor of a place for which he felt and acknowledged some degree of filial affection. These solicitations determined the emperor to wound his pride in so sensible a part. Sozopetra was leveled with the ground, the Syrian prisoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among these a matron of the house of Abbas invoked, in an agony of despair, the name of Mutasim; and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honor of her kinsman to avenge his indignity and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder brothers the inheritance of the youngest had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia; this frontier station had exercised his military talents, and among his accidental claims to the name of Octonary, the most meritorious are the eight battles which he gained or fought against the enemies of the Koran. In this personal quarrel the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt were recruited from the tribes of Arabia and the Turkish hordes: his cavalry might be numerous, though we should deduct some myriads from the 130,000 horses

of the royal stables; and the expense of the armament was computed at four millions sterling, or about $20,000,000. When these Saracen troops had assembled at the city of Tarsus in 838, they advanced in three divisions along the high road of Constantinople. Mutasim himself commanded the center, and the vanguard was given to his son Abbas, who, in the trial of the first adventures, might succeed with the more glory, or fall with the least reproach. In the revenge of his injury, the caliph prepared to retaliate a similar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amorium in Phrygia. The original seat of the imperial house had been adorned with privileges and monuments, and whatever might be the indifference of the people, Constantinople itself was scarcely of more value in the eyes of the sovereign and his court. The name of Amorium was inscribed on the shields of the Saracens, and their three armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been proposed by the wisest counselors to evacuate Amorium, to remove the inhabitants, and to abandon the empty structures to the vain resentment of the barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous resolution of defending, in a siege and battle, the country of his ancestors. When the armies drew near, the front of the Mohammedan line appeared to a Roman eye more closely planted with spears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either side to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the swords of 30,000 Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Byzantine Empire. The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry; and had not their bowstrings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the Christians could have escaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Doryleum, at the distance of three days; and Theophilus, reviewing his trembling squadrons, forgave the common flight both of the prince and the people. After this discovery of his weakness, he vainly hoped to deprecate the fate of Amorium: the inexorable caliph rejected with contempt his prayers and promises, and detained the Roman ambassadors to be the witnesses of his great revenge. They had nearly been the witnesses of his shame. The vigorous assaults of fifty-five days were encountered by a faithful governor, a veteran garrison, and a desperate people; and the Saracens must have raised the siege if a domestic traitor had not pointed to the weakest part of the

wall, a place which was decorated with the statues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Mutasim was accomplished with unrelenting rigor: tired, rather than satiated, with destruction, he returned to his new palace of Samara, in the neighborhood of Bagdad, while the unfortunate Theophilus implored the tardy and doubtful aid of his Western rival, the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the siege of Amorium about 70,000 Moslems had perished: their loss had been revenged by the slaughter of 30,000 Christians, and the sufferings of an equal number of captives, who were treated as the most atrocious criminals. Mutual necessity could sometimes extort the exchange or ransom of prisoners, but in the national and religious conflict of the two empires peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field; those who escaped the edge of the sword were condemned to hopeless servitude or exquisite torture; and a Catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil. To a point of honor Mutasim had sacrificed a flourishing city, 200,000 lives, and the property of millions. The same caliph descended from his horse and dirtied his robe to relieve the distress of a decrepit old man who, with his laden ass, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure when he was summoned by the angel of death?

With Mutasim (833-841), the eighth of the Abbasids, the glory of his family and nation expired. When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the East, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria and Egypt, they insensibly lost the freeborn and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the south is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliph were recruited in those climates of the north, of which valor is the hardy and spontaneous production. Of the Turks who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the Mohammedan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Mutasim, the first author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above fifty thousand Turks. Their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the

quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad and establish his own residence and the camp of his barbarian favorites at Samara on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the City of Peace. His son Mutawakkil was a jealous and cruel tyrant. Odious to his subjects, he cast himself on the fidelity of the strangers, and these strangers, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the cause of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet streaming with a father's blood, Muntasir was triumphantly led; but in a reign of six months he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. If he wept at the sight of the old tapestry which represented the crime and punishment of the son of Chosroes, if his days were abridged by grief and remorse, we may allow some pity to a parricide, who exclaimed, in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world and the world to come. After this act of treason the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking-staff of Mohammed, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years created, deposed, and murdered three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or avarice these caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable fate. At length, however, the fury of the tempest was spent or diverted: the Abbasids returned to the less turbulent residence of Bagdad; the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer and more skillful hand, and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare. But the nations of the East had been taught to trample on the successors of the Prophet, and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism, that I seem to repeat the story of the prætorians of Rome.

While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by the business, the pleasure, and the knowledge of the age, it burned with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. How carefully so ever the book of prophecy had been

sealed by the Apostle of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may profane the word) even the reason, of fanaticism might believe that, after the successive missions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, the same God, in the fullness of time, would reveal a still more perfect and permanent law. About the end of the ninth century, in the 287th year of the Hegira, an Arabian preacher near Cufa, of the name of Karmat, assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the Guide, the Director, the Demonstration, the Word, the Holy Ghost, the Camel, the Herald of the Messiah, who had conversed with him in a human shape, and the representative of Mohammed the son of Ali, of St. John the Baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume the precepts of the Koran were refined to a more spiritual sense. He relaxed the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage, allowed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden food, and nourished the fervor of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The idleness and ferment of the rustic crowd awakened the attention of the magistrates of Cufa; a timid persecution assisted the progress of the new sect; and the name of the prophet became more revered after his person had been withdrawn from the world. His twelve apostles dispersed themselves among the Beduins, "a race of men," says Abulfeda, "equally devoid of reason and of religion," and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The followers of Karmat were ripe for rebellion, disclaiming the title of the house of Abbas, and abhorring the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were susceptible of discipline, since they vowed a blind and absolute submission to their imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. Instead of the legal tithes, he claimed the fifth of their substance and spoil; the most flagitious sins were no more than the type of disobedience; and the brethren were united by an oath of secrecy. After a bloody conflict the Karmathians prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Persian Gulf: far and wide the tribes of the desert were subject to the scepter, or rather to the sword, of Abu Said and his son Abu Tahir, and these rebellious imams could muster in the field 107,000 fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were dismayed at the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter, and the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had effected in the character

of the Arabians. Such troops were discomfited in every action. The cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa and Bassora, were taken and pillaged, Bagdad was filled with consternation, and the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris Abu Tahir advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than 500 horse. By the special order of Muktadir the bridges had been broken down and the person or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful. His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, apprised Abu Tahir of his danger, and recommended a speedy escape. "Your master," said the intrepid Karmathian to the messenger, "is at the head of 30,000 soldiers: three such men as these are wanting in his host."

At the same instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger into his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without a murmur. "Relate," continued the imam, "what you have seen. Before the evening your general shall be chained among my dogs." Before the evening the camp was surprised and the menace was executed. The rapine of the Karmathians was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca. They robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and twenty thousand devout Moslems were abandoned on the burning sands to a death of hunger and thirst. Another year they suffered the pilgrims to proceed without interruption, but in the festival of devotion Abu Tahir stormed the holy city and trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mohammedan faith (930). Thirty thousand citizens and strangers were put to the sword, the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of three thousand dead bodies; the well of Zemzem overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from its place; the veil of the Kaaba was divided among these impious sectaries; and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of sacrilege and cruelty they continued to infest the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; but the vital principle of enthusiasm had withered at the root. Their scruples, or their avarice, again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and restored the black stone of the Kaaba; and it is needless to inquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated. The sect of the Karmathians may be considered as the

second visible cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The Caliph Almamon might proudly assert that it was easier for him to rule the East and the West than to manage a chess-board of two feet square. Yet I suspect that in both those games he was guilty of many fatal mistakes, and I perceive that in the distant provinces the authority of the first and most powerful of the Abbasids was already impaired. The analogy of despotism invests the representative with the full majesty of the prince; the division and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the passive subject to inquire into the origin and administration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is seldom worthy to reign; but the elevation of a private man, of a peasant, perhaps, or a slave, affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity. The viceroy of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust; the nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign; and the command of armies and treasures are at once the object and the instrument of his ambition. A change was scarcely visible so long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; while they solicited for themselves or their sons a renewal of the imperial grant, and still maintained on the coin and in the public prayers the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty; the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of their government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the Prophet were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, or a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber.

After the revolt of Spain from the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbasids, the first symptoms of disobedience broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenant of the vigilant and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the Aglabites (800-841) the inheritance of his name and power. The indolence or policy of the caliphs dissembled the loss, and pursued only with poison the founder of the Edrisites (829-

907), who erected the kingdom and city of Fez on the shores of the ocean. In the East the first dynasty was that of the Tahirites (813-872), the descendants of Tahir, who, in the civil wars of the sons of Harun, had served with too much zeal and success the cause of Almamon, the younger brother. He was sent into horrible exile, to command on the banks of the Oxus; and the independence of his successors, who reigned in Khorasan till the fourth generation, was palliated by their modest and respectful demeanor, the happiness of their subjects, and the security of their frontier. They were supplanted by one of those adventurers so frequent in the annals of the East, who left his brazier, whence the name of the Soffarides (872-902), for the profession of a robber. In a nocturnal visit to the treasure of the prince of Sistan, Jacob, the son of Leith, stumbled over a lump of salt, which he unwarily tasted with his tongue. Salt, among the Orientals, is the symbol of hospitality, and the pious robber immediately retired without spoil or damage. The discovery of this honorable behavior recommended Jacob to pardon and trust; he led an army at first for his benefactor, at last for himself, subdued Persia, and threatened the residence of the Abbasids. On his march toward Bagdad the conqueror was arrested by a fever. He gave audience in bed to the ambassador of the caliph, and beside him on a table were exposed a naked scimiter, a crust of brown bread, and a bunch of onions. "If I die," said he, "your master is delivered from his fears. If I live, this must determine between us. If I am vanquished, I can return without reluctance to the homely fare of my youth." From the height where he stood the descent would not have been so soft or harmless: a timely death secured his own repose and that of the caliph, who paid with the most lavish concessions the retreat of his brother Amru to the palaces of Shiraz and Ispahan. The Abbasids were too feeble to contend, too proud to forgive: they invited the powerful dynasty of the Samanides (874-999), who passed the Oxus with 10,000 horse so poor that their stirrups were of wood; so brave, that they vanquished the Soffarian army, eight times more numerous than their own. The captive Amru was sent in chains, a grateful offering to the court of Bagdad, and as the victor was content with the inheritance of Transoxiana and Khorasan, the realms of Persia returned for a while to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by their Turkish slaves of the

race of Tuulun and Ikshid. These barbarians, in religion and manners the countrymen of Mohammed, emerged from the bloody factions of the palace to a provincial command and an independent throne: their names became famous and formidable in their time; but the founders of these two potent dynasties confessed, either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a sinner, ignorant of the limits of his own power; the second, in the midst of 400,000 soldiers and 8000 slaves, concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to sleep. Their sons were educated in the vices of kings, and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and possessed by the Abbasids during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of Hamadan. The poets of their court could repeat without a blush that nature had formed their countenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valor; but the genuine tale of the elevation and reign of the Hamadanites exhibits a scene of treachery, murder, and parricide. At the same fatal period the Persian kingdom was again usurped by the dynasty of the Bowides (933-1005), by the sword of three brothers, who, under various names, were styled the support and columns of the state, and who, from the Caspian Sea to the ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves. Under their reign the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, 304 years after the death of Mohammed, were deprived of the scepter of the East.

Radhi, the twentieth of the Abbasids, and the thirty-ninth of the successors of Mohammed, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful; the last (says Abulfeda) who spoke to the people, or conversed with the learned; the last who, in the expense of his household, represented the wealth and magnificence of the ancient caliphs. After him the lords of the Eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery and exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad; but that capital still contained an innumerable multitude, vain of their past fortune, discontented with their present state, and oppressed by the demands of a treasury which had formerly been replenished by the spoil and tribute of nations. Their idleness was exercised by faction and controversy. Under the mask of

piety the rigid followers of Hanbal invaded the pleasures of domestic life, burst into the houses of plebeians and princes, spilt the wine, broke the instruments, beat the musicians, and dishonored, with infamous suspicions, the associates of every handsome youth. In each profession, which allowed room for two persons, the one was a votary, the other an antagonist, of Ali; and the Abbasids were awakened by the clamorous grief of the sectaries, who denied their title, and cursed their progenitors. A turbulent people can only be repressed by a military force; but who could satisfy the avarice or assert the discipline of the mercenaries themselves? The African and the Turkish guards drew their swords against each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs al Omra, imprisoned or deposed their sovereigns and violated the sanctuary of the mosque and harem. If the caliphs escaped to the camp or court of any neighboring prince, their deliverance was a change of servitude, till they were prompted by despair to invite the Bowides, the sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible arms. The civil and military powers were assumed in 945 by Muiz ad-Daula, the second of the three brothers, and a stipend equivalent to about $300,000 was assigned by his generosity for the private expense of the commander of the faithful. But on the fortieth day, at the audience of the ambassadors of Khorasan, and in the presence of a trembling multitude, the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of the stranger, and the rude hands of his Dilemites. His palace was pillaged, his eyes were put out, and the mean ambition of the Abbasids aspired to the vacant station of danger and disgrace. In the school of adversity the luxurious caliphs resumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. Despoiled of their armor and silken robes, they fasted, they prayed, they studied the Koran and the tradition of the Sunnites; they performed, with zeal and knowledge, the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the Apostle; the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful, and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abbasids to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been imbittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or spurious progeny of Ali. Arising from the extremity of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished, in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abbasids.

In the declining age of the caliphs, in the century which elapsed after the war of Theophilus and Mutasim, the hostile transactions of the two nations were confined to some inroads by sea and land, the fruits of their close vicinity and indelible hatred. But when the Eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks in 960 roused from their lethargy in the hope of conquest and revenge. The Byzantine Empire, since the accession of the Basilian race, had reposed in peace and dignity; and they might encounter with their entire strength the front of some petty emir, whose rear was assaulted and threatened by his national foes of the Mohammedan faith. The lofty titles of the "morning star" and the "death of the Saracens" were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas, a prince as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city. In the subordinate station of great domestic, or general of the East, he reduced the Island of Crete in 962 and extirpated the nest of pirates who had so long defied, with impunity, the majesty of the empire. His military genius was displayed in the conduct and success of the enterprise which had so often failed with loss and dishonor. The Saracens were confounded by the landing of his troops on safe and level bridges, which he cast from the vessels to the shore. Seven months were consumed in the siege of Candia; the despair of the native Cretans was stimulated by the frequent aid of their brethren of Africa and Spain; and after the massy wall and double ditch had been stormed by the Greeks, a hopeless conflict was still maintained in the streets and houses of the city. The whole island was subdued in the capital, and a submissive people accepted, without resistance, the baptism of the conqueror. Constantinople applauded the long-forgotten pomp of a triumph, but the imperial diadem was the sole reward that could repay the services, or satisfy the ambition, of Nicephorus.

After the death of the younger Romanus, the fourth in lineal descent of the Basilian race, his widow, Theophania, successively married Nicephorus Phocas, who ruled from 963 to 969, and his assassin, John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons, and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates whom they led to war appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, 200,000 strong, and of these about 30,000 were armed with cuirasses: a

train of 4000 mules attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an enclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and indecisive combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a few years by the course of nature, but I shall briefly prosecute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Kappadocia to the desert of Bagdad. The sieges of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, in Cilicia, first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, for the time, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia, which is divided by the River Sarus, 200,000 Moslems were predestined to death or slavery, a surprising degree of population, which must at least include the inhabitants of the dependent districts. They were surrounded and taken by assault, but Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine; and no sooner had the Saracens yielded on honorable terms than they were mortified by the distant and unprofitable view of the naval succors of Egypt. They were dismissed with a safe-conduct to the confines of Syria: a part of the old Christians had quietly lived under their dominion; and the vacant habitations were replenished by a new colony. But the mosque was converted into a stable; the pulpit was delivered to the flames; many rich crosses of gold and gems, the spoils of Asiatic churches, were made a grateful offering to the piety or avarice of the emperor; and he transported the gates of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, which were fixed in the wall of Constantinople, an eternal monument of his victory. After they had forced and secured the narrow passes of Mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet, instead of assaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or superstition of Nicephorus appeared to respect the ancient metropolis of the East: he contented himself with drawing round the city a line of circumvallation, left a stationary army, and instructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of spring. But in the depth of winter, in a dark and rainy night, an adventurous subaltern, with 300 soldiers, approached the rampart, applied his scaling-ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, stood firm against the pressure of multitudes, and bravely maintained his post till he was relieved by the tardy, though effectual, support of his reluctant chief. The first tumult of slaughter and rapine subsided; the reign of Cæsar and of Christ was restored; and the efforts of 100,000 Saracens, of the

armies of Syria and the fleets of Africa, were consumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of Aleppo was subject to Saif ad-Daula, of the dynasty of Hamadan, who clouded his past glory by the precipitate retreat which abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his stately palace, that stood without the walls of Aleppo, they joyfully seized a well-furnished magazine of arms, a stable of 1400 mules, and 300 bags of silver and gold. But the walls of the city withstood the strokes of their battering rams, and the besiegers pitched their tents on the neighboring mountain of Jaushan. Their retreat exasperated the quarrel of the townsmen and mercenaries; the guard of the gates and ramparts was deserted; and while they furiously charged each other in the market-place, they were surprised and destroyed by the sword of a common enemy. The male sex was exterminated by the sword; 10,000 youths were led into captivity; the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the beasts of burden; the superfluous remainder was burned; and, after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads they commanded the husbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themselves, in the ensuing season, might reap the benefit: more than a hundred cities were reduced to obedience; and eighteen pulpits of the principal mosques were committed to the flames to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mohammed. The classic names of Hierapolis, Apamea, and Emesa revive for a moment in the list of conquest: the Emperor Zimisces encamped in the paradise of Damascus, and accepted the ransom of a submissive people; and the torrent was only stopped by the impregnable fortress of Tripoli, on the seacoast of Phœnicia. Since the days of Heraclius the Euphrates, below the passage of Mount Taurus, had been impervious, and almost invisible, to the Greeks. The river yielded a free passage to the victorious Zimisces; and the historian may imitate the speed with which he overran the once famous cities of Samosata, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida, and Nisibis, the ancient limit of the empire in the neighborhood of the Tigris. His ardor was quickened by the desire of grasping the virgin treasures of Ekbatana, a well-known name, under which the Byzantine writer has concealed the capital of the Abbasids. The consternation of the fugitives had already diffused the terror of his name, but the fancied riches of Bagdad had already been dissipated by the avarice

and prodigality of domestic tyrants. The prayers of the people and the stern demands of the lieutenant of the Bowides required the caliph to provide for the defense of the city. The helpless Muti replied that his arms, his revenues, and his provinces had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to support. The emir was inexorable; the furniture of the palace was sold; and the paltry price of forty thousand pieces of gold was instantly consumed in private luxury. But the apprehensions of Bagdad were relieved by the retreat of the Greeks: thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia; and the emperor, satiated with glory, and laden with Oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed, in his triumph, the silk, the aromatics, and three hundred myriads of gold and silver.

Yet the powers of the East had been bent, not broken, by this transient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; the subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance; the Moslems again purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the saints and martyrs; the Nestorians and Jacobites preferred a Saracen to an orthodox master; and the numbers and spirit of the Melchites were inadequate to the support of the church and state. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the Isle of Cyprus, was alone restored, a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire.

HISTORY OF ISRAEL

By Christopher Johnston, Ph. D.,

Associate Professor of Oriental History and Archæology
Johns Hopkins University

HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Chapter I

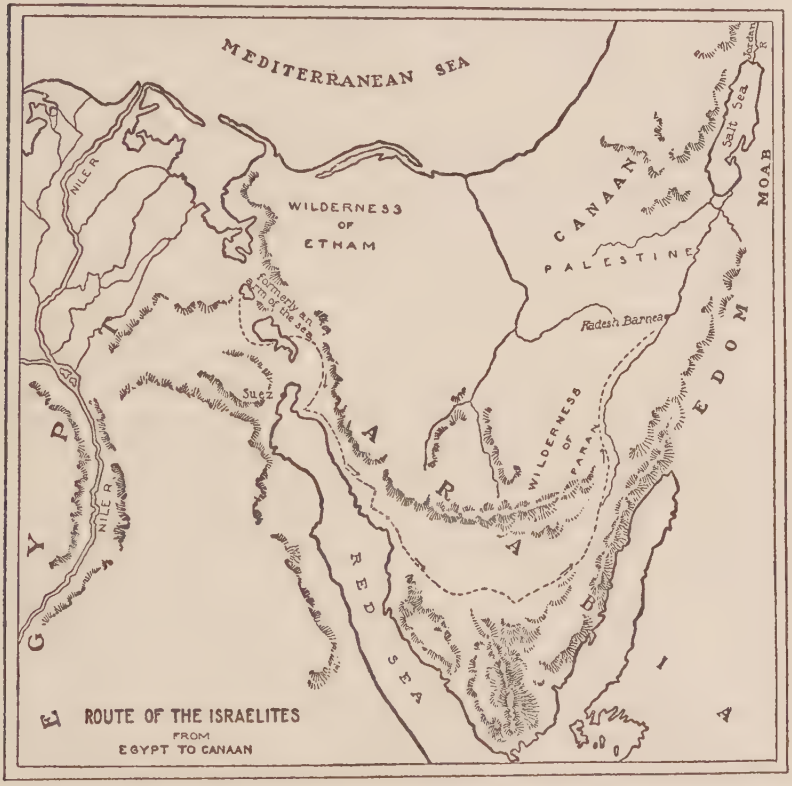
THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

ACCORDING to their own traditions, supported by the testimony of history, Israel was a branch of the great Semitic race whose original home is to be sought in the Arabian peninsula. Here, for centuries before history begins, the ancestors of the race wandered as nomads with their flocks and herds, and from Arabia proceeded those waves of migration and conquest which finally Semitized the whole of Western Asia. These great movements usually extended over considerable periods of time. At first a single clan or tribe would push out from their desert home in search of fresh pastures for their flocks, and these pioneers would be followed by kindred tribes, until continued reinforcements so swelled their numbers that they were able to overwhelm the neighboring settled states. After the culmination of the movement fresh bodies of Arabs were attracted by the success of their kinsmen to follow in their footsteps. Indeed, there was at all times a constant migration of the tribes, in larger or smaller bodies, from the deserts of Arabia to the more fertile portions of Western Asia, and not a few of these migratory tribes wandered for centuries before they acquired settled habitations. The ancestors of Israel were of this class. Their life, as depicted in the vivid narrative of the Book of Genesis, was that of the Beduin of the present day, whose sheiks, when uncontaminated by western associations, are true types of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Under their patriarchs, the Hebrew tribesmen shifted from place to place, seeking new pastures for their cattle, frequently at war with their neighbors, and subsisting partly by the produce of their herds, partly by the spoil of war and plunder. At length, driven by drought and famine, they sought refuge in Egypt, where they were allowed to settle in the fertile plains of the Delta, and here for a considerable time they made their home, following their ancient vocations and preserving their ancestral customs and institutions. Such settlements of Beduin clans are by no means

without example in Egyptian history. In the tombs of Beni Hassan, dating from about 2000 B. C., may be seen depicted a band of Semites who crave and receive permission from the Egyptian governor to take up their abode in the land of Pharaoh, with their wives, children, and possessions; and a papyrus of the nineteenth dynasty reports that a tribe of Beduins from the land of Edom had been admitted into the Delta to seek a support for themselves and their herds. Under the favorable conditions afforded by this new abode the Hebrew sojourners multiplied greatly, but when in course of time their numbers aroused Egyptian apprehension they were placed under surveillance and forced labor was exacted from them. To free Beduins, as they were, this was intolerable, but for a time they were obliged to submit. At length, however, the period of bondage came to an end. Under their leader, Moses, who stands out clearly as no mere personified myth, but as a living historical personality, a great religious movement took place. The loosely connected tribes were united, and, moved by a common impulse, they left Egypt and essayed to cross over into Asia by the Isthmus of Suez. Pursued by the Egyptian troops, they were overtaken on the shore of the Red Sea, and for a time their situation was most perilous. It happened, however, that a strong north wind had produced an unusually low tide, and it seemed possible to ford the shallow sea. Moses eagerly grasped the opportunity and led his people in safety to the further shore. Here the pursuers came up with them, but the ground was ill-suited to the movements of a chariot force, and the attack was readily repulsed. Falling into confusion, the assailants attempted to retreat, but in the meantime the wind had veered and they were swallowed up by the returning tide. After their departure from Egypt the Hebrew tribes did not immediately proceed to the land of Canaan. For a time—the Biblical account places its duration at forty years—they dwelt in southern Palestine, with their headquarters at Kadesh Barnea. Here they had their sanctuary and their oracle, and here Moses, their ruler and judge, grounded them in the religion of Jahweh and laid the foundations of their religious and civil laws.

The land of Canaan, which was to become the ultimate goal of the Hebrew emigrants, was at this time no longer under the dominion of a single strong power. At a much earlier period it had been subject to Babylon, and as late as 1400 B. C. the influence of that ancient Semitic metropolis was still so strong that the Babylonian

language and system of writing were regularly employed for purposes of diplomatic intercourse by the dwellers along the Mediterranean coast. When, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, Egypt came forward as a military power, Palestine was one of her earliest foreign possessions, and for a long time was regularly garrisoned by Egyptian troops. In the civil war resulting from the attempt of the heretic



king, Amenophis IV., to force his new religion upon his people, Egypt could no longer maintain her hold upon her Asiatic provinces, and they rapidly fell away. The celebrated Tell-el-Amarna Tablets, of which the great majority consist of letters from Palestinian princes and officials to the Egyptian court of this period, give a vivid picture of the existing state of affairs. Revolt after revolt is reported, and the aid of more troops is constantly demanded. The cities are all falling away from the king; the friends of Egypt are few and weak, and powerful enemies surround them; unless

promptly supported by strong reinforcements they can no longer hold out, and the whole country must soon be lost to the Egyptian monarch. Egypt was powerless to help, and Canaan was soon split up into numerous small principalities without mutual cohesion, and frequently at war among themselves. East of the Jordan the Arab tribes from the desert were able to establish a line of states, and only their lack of union and the superior military equipment of the Canaanites prevented them from invading the land. At this juncture came Israel's opportunity. Sihon, the Amorite king, whose capital was at Heshbon, opposite Jericho, attacked the Moabites, and was pressing them hard when their kinsmen, the Hebrews of Kadesh Barnea, came to their relief. They overthrew Sihon, broke up his kingdom, and established themselves to the north of the Arnon, between Moab and Ammon. Having thus obtained a foothold east of the Jordan, they needed but a breathing space ere they were ready to advance into the richer territory to the west, with which they were, in a measure, already in touch.

The division of Israel into twelve tribes representing the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob must be considered as the genealogical expression of the traditional recollection of the Hebrews concerning the origin of their nation. In fact, the number twelve can only be obtained either by considering Manasseh and Ephraim as forming together a single tribe, or by omitting Levi from the list. It is further evident that Benjamin, as the youngest, represents the latest addition to the main body, while the sons of Jacob's concubines do not stand upon the same footing as his sons by his wives Leah and Rachel. As a matter of fact, Israel left Egypt, not as a nation, but as a loosely connected aggregation of tribes, and many new elements were added during the sojourn at Kadesh Barnea, which was undoubtedly the formative period of the Israelite nationality. Even at the settlement on the Arnon the number of tribes was still incomplete. Benjamin was certainly added after the invasion of Canaan proper, and it is probable that the tribes of Dan, Naphthali, Gad, and Asher represent Canaanite elements that associated themselves with the invaders after the crossing of the Jordan. It would seem, in fact, that, at the time of the departure from Kadesh, Israel consisted of but seven tribes: Joseph (later divided into Manasseh and Ephraim), Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulon. It is worthy of note that Joseph, though represented as younger by birth and the son of

Jacob's subordinate wife Rachel, is clearly to be recognized in the Old Testament narrative as the superior and leader of the other tribes.

The first attempt to gain possession of the territory west of the Jordan was made by the tribes Simeon, Levi, and Judah. The two former gained a lodgment in the hill country of Ephraim, and for a time seem to have cultivated amicable relations with the inhabitants. But a feud broke out with the Canaanites of Shechem. Levi was broken and scattered, and Simeon was practically annihilated. Judah fared little better. They established themselves upon the western slopes of the mountains in the neighborhood of Timna and Adullam, but suffered severe losses, from which they did not recover until reinforced by the Kenite families from the south. This first attempt might have passed without important results had not the tribe of Joseph, under their leader Joshua, followed in the footsteps of their brethren. Crossing the Jordan, they encamped at Gilgal and conquered in rapid succession Jericho, Ai, and Bethel, the latter being an ancient seat of worship and occupying a strong strategic position. Four other cities, lying a little farther south, Gibeon, Kefira, Beeroth, and Kirjath Jearim, immediately submitted, and thus secured favorable terms for themselves. The Canaanites were now roused to the danger, and a confederation was formed to repel the invaders, but Joshua defeated them near Gibeon, and the whole central plateau of Palestine thus came into the possession of the conquerors. A stable footing thus secured, the ark of Jahweh was now brought from Gilgal and placed at Shiloh, in the hill country of Ephraim. But though the first great blow had been struck, the work of conquest was by no means complete. A new Canaanite coalition under Sisera was formed for the purpose of expelling the intruders, and it was only by strenuous efforts that this danger was averted. Numerous minor conflicts occurred in various parts of Canaan, and it was a long time before the individual families and clans were securely established in their new possessions. The Arab tribes east of the Jordan, moreover, were encouraged by Israel's success to make similar attempts. The Moabites, Ammonites, and Amalekites took possession of Jericho, and Benjamin became tributary to the Moabite king Eglon. The Ammonites threatened the territories of Gad in Gilead, and, though repulsed by Gideon, were able to establish themselves in the neighborhood of the Jordan. The most serious menace, however, was on

the part of the Midianites, who overran the lands of Manasseh, also in Gilead, and for a time terrorized and oppressed the population. They were finally checked by Gideon, who signally defeated them in a night attack, and thus gained security for his people.

If the time of the sojourn at Kadesh Barnea be called the formative period of Israel's nationality, the time of the judges, following the conquest of Canaan, is to be looked upon as the formative period of the Israelite state, and during this period important changes occurred. The Israelites, when they entered Canaan, were a people of nomad herdsmen and shepherds. In their new home it was necessary for them to learn to till the soil and to adapt themselves to a settled mode of life. The conditions under which this change was made were not the same in all parts of the land, nor was it everywhere effected with equal rapidity. The passage from a nomadic life to fixed habitation in towns and cities brought many other changes with it. The foundation of the old organization was the family, whose head, the father, was the priest and judge of his household, his wife and children being his possessions. A number of related families formed a clan, at the head of which stood the elders, and the tribe was formed by an aggregation of clans. The elders formed a sort of council, settling affairs of common interest in peace and in war, though in time of war a suitable leader was usually chosen. Questions of special importance were sometimes decided in popular assemblies, but ordinarily this was the function of the elders, who may be compared to the divan of the sheiks among the modern Beduins. Such a tribal organization doubtless formed a sufficient provision for the needs of a nomadic people, but when Israel became a settled nation another system was required. The old organization was too loose to be effective under the new conditions, and the common worship of Jahweh, their sole common bond, was not an influence of sufficient strength to prevent tribal dissensions. Local ties and attachments arose, and these would frequently become paramount to the tribal connection. The old customary law, moreover, did not provide for the new questions that arose out of private property in land, and the old usages based upon blood kindred were no longer effective. In place of the tribal system arose the community, which indeed Israel found ready to hand in the Canaanite cities. The old social order was thus dissolved and was only slowly replaced by a new one, which must have conformed in the main to that of the Canaanites among whom the

Israelites lived. From the Egyptian inscriptions it appears that a sort of oligarchical system prevailed in the Canaanite communities, the rule being in the hands of a few families of special prominence, and it was this system which was gradually adopted by Israel. In spite, however, of all changes, the old tribal feeling survived and made itself felt long after the institution from which it sprung had become obsolete.

From the Canaanites the Israelites learned the arts of husbandry. In so doing they learned not only to plow and sow and reap; to cultivate the fig, the olive, and the vine; and to make oil and wine; but also to practice the religious rites which were equally an indispensable part of ancient agriculture. They made their offerings for the grain, the wine, and the oil to the Baals and Astartes of the land, who bestowed these gifts upon their worshipers. In so doing they did not dream of abandoning their own God, Jahweh, for the gods of Canaan. But Jahweh was a God of war and a shepherds' God, whom they honored with the firstlings of their flocks and herds, not a God of the fruitful soil. Later, indeed, when Canaan had become Israel's land, Jahweh was regarded as its proprietor, and the worship of the nameless Baals, without any change in its character, was addressed to Jahweh as the Baal of Israel. The judgment of the later writers of the Old Testament, who see in the whole period of the judges an apostasy from Jahweh to Canaanite heathenism, is thus not without foundation. Nor is it to be supposed that in the times of the judges themselves there were none to protest against the adoption of Canaanite religions. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that then, as in later times, there were zealots for Jahweh who condemned the whole Canaanite civilization which Israel had adopted, and contended for the old purity of life and purity of religion—the ancient nomadic ideal.

It was inevitable that sooner or later the Israelite nationality must consolidate into a monarchy, and as a matter of fact this step was forced upon them by the conquering progress of the Philistines. This people, who have long furnished a theme of discussion for archæologists and historians, came probably from Asia Minor, and had taken possession of the maritime plain of Palestine north of the Egyptian frontier. Their territory embraced what was later called the Pentapolis, the district of the five cities—Ekron, Gath, Askalon, Ashdod, and Gaza—which, though usually confederated,

preserved their individual autonomy. At Askalon they had their naval arsenal, where fleets were fitted out to scour the neighboring seas, either as a marine police in the Egyptian service, or for piratical expeditions upon their own account, when occasion served, along the coasts of Phœnicia. Ekron and Gath kept watch over the eastern side of the plain at the points where it was not exposed to attack from the people of the hills—at first the Canaanites and later the Israelites. A large part of Egypt's trade with Asia was carried on through the mouths of the Nile, and of this traffic the Phœnicians had a monopoly. The remainder followed the land routes, and passed directly through the territory of the Philistines, who charged themselves with the maintenance of the great commercial highway in their hands and with the security of the merchants who made use of it. For these services they exacted the same tolls that had been levied by the Canaanites before them. In their efforts to put down brigandage they were brought in collision with some of the Hebrew claims after the latter had taken possession of Canaan. That the Israelites were directly the aggressors is improbable. Their lightly armed troops, that up to this time had known only warfare among the mountains, were not in a position to attack the formidable troops and war chariots of the Philistines on their own ground, the open plain. Moreover, the first conflict took place on the mountain slopes south of Shechem, a clear proof that Israel stood on the defensive. After the first defeat the Israelites, composed chiefly of the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim, brought the sacred ark from Shiloh into their camp that their God might help them to victory. Their hope was vain. Israel was defeated, and the ark itself fell into the hands of the enemy. At this blow Israel's confidence in the protection of Jahweh was rudely shaken, and the land fell an easy prey to the Philistines, who established their governor in Gibea and probably destroyed the temple at Shiloh at this time. How far they extended their dominion is not altogether certain, but it is probable that, while the lower districts north of Shechem as far as the plain of Jezreel became tributary to the enemy, the mountains of Judah remained unconquered, owing to the difficult nature of the land. The story of the ark is well known. A plague visiting the coast was attributed to the anger of Jahweh, unwilling that his sacred symbol should remain in hostile hands, and it went from city to city, but none would take it in. Finally the matter was left to the decision of Jahweh him-

self. The ark was placed on a wagon, and two milch kine drew it to the Israelite locality of Beth-shemesh. At first it was joyfully greeted, but here again a plague broke out, and it became an object of terror. Finally it found a resting place in the house of Aminadab at Kirjath Jearim, and there it long remained.

The situation of Israel was most critical. The loss of their independence meant the loss of their national identity, of all the work of Moses, and of all that had been gained since the migration to Canaan. But the darkest hour came before the dawn; and it was this very danger and trial that gave rise to a united Israel, and originated the monarchy. At this period of Israel's gloom one man stands out preëminent—Samuel, the seer and priest who lived in the district of Zoph on Mount Ephraim. He had doubtless long taken to heart the sorrows of Israel, and had pondered deeply over the remedy, and the chance that brought Saul to him found him not unprepared. He was seeking a hero who, through the power of Jahweh's name, could rouse the people from their sullen despair, bring together the disunited tribes, and infuse them with animation. In Saul ben Kish of Gibea he found the man he sought, the deliverer appointed by Jahweh. Treating him in public with great distinction, he conversed with him in private, announced to him that Jahweh had chosen him to be king over his people, and anointed him with oil as a visible token of his appointment. By this act Samuel introduced the monarchy as the special ordinance of Jahweh. After this Saul returned to his village, but an opportunity soon came that showed the wisdom of Samuel's choice. The city of Jabesh in Gilead was besieged by Nahash the Ammonite and sought terms of capitulation, but the terms of Nahash were hard. He would spare their lives, but he would put out the right eye of every man, and thus bring lasting shame upon Israel. The men of Jabesh made a last effort. They sent out messengers through all Israel imploring help, and stating that unless relieved within seven days they must surrender upon any terms. The messengers met with much sympathy, but no effectual aid, and there seemed to be none to take the initiative. Saul learned the news as he was coming home from the field with his oxen, and was filled with indignation. Slaying his oxen, he cut them in pieces and sent the pieces throughout Israel with the pithy message: "Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul, and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen." Saul's message was effective and he soon had a

considerable force under his command. He led them by a night march to the camp of the Ammonites, which he surprised and attacked at early dawn, utterly routing the enemy. This brave deed not only rescued Jabesh, but gave Saul the prestige that he needed. The army marched back to Gilgal, and there Saul was hailed as king, amid the acclamations of the people. Here and there some opposition occurred and the free tribes bowed to the king with reluctance, but the monarchy was recognized by the majority as the only hope of salvation, and Saul was regarded as the chosen of Jahweh. He ruled at first merely over the tribes of Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh, and perhaps also over the more northerly tribes. Judah can hardly have taken part in the brief campaign against the Ammonites. According to the account given in the Book of Samuel, the new king had at his disposal an army of 3000 men, and with these he took the field against the Philistines. The signal for revolt was given by his son Jonathan, who drove out the Philistine garrison at Gibea. Israel followed Saul, but lost courage when their much dreaded foes appeared, and pitched their camp at Michmash in the mountain land. Many deserted and took refuge in the mountain recesses, so that Saul was left with but 600 men. At this critical juncture Jonathan and his armor-bearer surprised the Philistine post placed to watch the ravine between Michmash and Gibea, and put it to the sword. The alarm was communicated to the Philistines, and an earthquake threw them into further confusion. Saul, seeing in the earthquake the direct interposition of Jahweh in favor of his people, promptly seized the opportunity and boldly led his little army against the enemy. Those Israelites who had been forced to serve with the Philistines went over in a body to their brethren, the fugitives came forth from their hiding places in the mountains, the army of Saul swelled as it advanced, and the Philistines were forced to seek safety in the plain. This second success was more splendid than the first success over the Ammonites. It was a success against the dreaded oppressors of Israel. Jahweh himself had taken part in the fray, and Saul's hand was wonderfully strengthened. He brought together the tribes of Israel, even including Judah, that hitherto had been but lukewarm, and, while still carrying on the war against the Philistines, sought to strengthen his kingdom in every way. On all sides he made Israel respected, and took the necessary measures for the protection of his frontier. It was part of Saul's policy to

attach to himself men of courage and action from all parts of Israel, both for the help they gave him and also the better to consolidate the interests of the whole people. Among these men was a young man of distinction, David ben Jesse of Bethlehem, who enjoyed high reputation as a warrior and was advanced to important posts under the king. He rapidly won the king's favor, contracted a lasting friendship with his son, Jonathan, and by obtaining in marriage Saul's younger daughter, became a member of the royal family. How the differences between Saul and David arose it is difficult to say. The king was at times afflicted with melancholia, which took the form of fits of morose, sullen brooding, and in such cases it is very common for the sufferer to imagine that wrongs have been done him. At any rate, Saul seems to have had the idea that David consorted with his opponents, and apparently suspected him of plotting against him. Moreover, David's successes and his great popularity aroused Saul's jealousy, and he brooded over these things to such an extent that, finally, in an outburst of rage, he flung his javelin at David as he was playing to him on the harp. David escaped to his home and, by the aid of his wife, reached his tribe in safety, but he could not live there openly. Placing his family with the king of Moab, who received them kindly, he took refuge in the cave of Adullam on the Philistine frontier, gathered a considerable following, and lived the life of a freebooter and outlaw. At first he endeavored to carry on a guerrilla warfare with the Philistines, and even gained possession of the town of Keilah, but on the approach of the king he was forced to abandon the place and take refuge again in the mountains. Finally he was obliged to join the Philistines, and Achish, king of Gath, assigned him the city of Ziklag in the south. Here he carried on a clever policy, pretending to raid the Israelites, while he really harried the Amalekites and other tribes in the south. He could hardly have carried on the deception very long, but matters soon came to a crisis. When the Philistines marched against Saul, David was commanded to accompany them, but the chiefs of the Philistines suspected his loyalty, and he was obliged to leave the camp. On his return to Ziklag, finding that the city had been pillaged in his absence by the Amalekites, he pursued the marauders, chastised them severely, and took from them rich spoils. This wealth he sent in presents to the Judæan chiefs, the Calebites and others in whose districts he had previously found hospitable reception.

In the meantime the Philistines had gained a great victory over Saul on the plain of Jezreel, where their heavy armed troops had the advantage, and where the king of Israel had rashly risked a general engagement in the open. The Israelite army was badly defeated, three of the king's sons, including Jonathan, fell in the battle, and Saul himself, yielding to despair, fell on his sword and slew himself. David felt by this time that the territory of the Philistines was no safe place for him, and he sought to return to Judah. He had already paved the way by his gifts, and now the death of Saul left the coast clear. Accordingly David went to Hebron, in the territory of the Calebites, and was there crowned king of Judah, a circumstance of high importance for the whole subsequent history of Israel. Judah had hitherto been a rather lukewarm adherent. Even under Saul the tie was rather a loose one, for Judah lay separated from its nearest congener, Benjamin, by Jerusalem, then in the hands of the Jebusites, and its neighboring territory. It was David, therefore, who completed the work of Saul in this, as in other, respects, and who welded the southern to the northern tribes. It was through David also that Judah was brought into firmer relations with the religion of Jahweh and purged of the heathenism to which it had yielded in part. But although now king of Judah, David had yet to extend his sway over Israel. After Saul's death his cousin, Abner, had brought a surviving son of the king, named Ish-bosheth, to Manahaim, where he was crowned and acknowledged king over all the tribes but Judah. Hostilities broke out and lasted for three years, with the advantage on the side of David, until finally Ish-bosheth was murdered, and his murderers fled to David, expecting to receive a reward. But David abhorred the deed. Regarding himself as a member of the house of Saul, whose daughter he had married, he took on himself the duty of blood revenge, and had the murderers executed. Accounts derived from Israelite sources hint that David connived at or even instigated the deed, but this is contradicted by all that is known of his character. He had his failings, it is true, and was at times mastered by his strong passions, but of murder, dictated by cold policy, he was certainly not guilty. The question as to whether David would be accepted by Israel as well as Judah was soon settled. The conquest of the Jebusites of Jerusalem broke down the barrier between Israel and Judah, and, when this was accomplished, the representatives of all Israel came to

Hebron and saluted David as king. This was the signal for the Philistines to attack. So long as Israel and Judah were at war the Philistines did not feel called upon to interfere, but as soon as the belligerents became reconciled and presented a united front against them it was necessary to take measures in their own interest. Invading Judah, they endeavored to seize the newly crowned king, but David was wary. He risked no great battle in the open, but harassed the enemy in countless skirmishes, and took constant advantage of the nature of the country to lay ambushes for them and to attack them by surprise where their superior arms and organization did not avail. Saul had risked all on a single battle, but David did not fall into the same error. He was, moreover, thoroughly familiar with the enemy's tactics, and was thus able to make the more effective dispositions against them. Finally the last invader was driven from the land, and David was king over a united people. More than this, under the king's prudent and skillful guidance Israel gathered such strength and war-like experience that the war was carried into the enemy's country, Gath fell before them, and David thus acquired the suzerainty over Philistia. Adhering to the policy of his predecessor, David strengthened the frontiers of his kingdom, especially in the land east of the Jordan, greatly extended his dominions, and laid many of the surrounding peoples under tribute. He placed his kingdom upon a solid foundation, and, by making the power of Israel respected, won security for his people. The time of Saul's reign was ill-adapted for any show of regal splendor, and Saul, while king, had attempted nothing of the kind, but had lived the simple life of the people. In David's time circumstances were very different, and it was necessary for him to maintain a state befitting his rank. Choosing as his capital the newly conquered city of Jerusalem, a central point whence he might exercise sway over the whole people, he built there a residence for his family and court. He also endeavored by the adoption of old traditions to enhance the dignity of his new capital in the eyes of Israel. Sending to Kirjath Jearim, he brought thence the sacred ark, installed it in Jerusalem, with appropriate ceremonies, and instituted priests and regular offerings. Thus arose the first royal sanctuary. It formed a part of the royal residence and pertained specially to the king, while the ark gave it peculiar sanctity. In this, as in all other ways, David sought to bring himself in close contact with the worship of Jahweh, and to appear in the eyes of the people as

the anointed of the Lord. But however successful David was in the field and in political matters, he met with misfortunes in his family. By the rebellion of his son, Absalom, he was driven from Jerusalem, but by shrewd tactics gained time to gather an army, and Absalom was defeated and slain. His death affected David so powerfully that he refused to be comforted, and it was only on the energetic remonstrances of his general, Joab, that he finally consented to appear in public and receive his victorious army. The question of the succession to the throne gave rise to much intrigue in the king's family. It is true that the eldest son had certain rights, but whether they included the right of succession, or whether the king had the right of nominating his successor, had yet to be tested. It is clear from the Old Testament narrative that this was a debated question at David's court, and both sides of the question found adherents. After the death of Absalom, Adonijah was the eldest living son of David, and he certainly considered that he had a right to the succession. In this view he was supported by men of high standing, like Joab, the king's counselor and general, and Abiathar, the high priest. David, however, had sworn to his wife, Bathsheba, that her son Solomon should succeed him, and this side of the question, involving the right of the king to name his own successor, was supported by no less a person than the prophet Nathan. Matters soon came to a climax. Adonijah gave a feast, to which he invited all his brothers, with the marked exception of Solomon, and all his own adherents, carefully omitting Nathan and others of Solomon's party. So assured did Adonijah feel of his position that on this occasion he even caused or allowed himself to be hailed as king. Solomon's party was prompt to act. Bathsheba, well schooled by Nathan, went to the king and, reminding him of his promise to her, informed him of Adonijah's proceeding. David as usual formed his resolution promptly. He saw that, unless he interfered, there was danger of a breach in the kingdom and a war of succession. He confirmed his promise to Bathsheba, and, hastily summoning Zadok, Nathan, and Benaiah, caused them to take Solomon to Gihon in the Kedron valley, escorted by an imposing retinue, and there anoint and proclaim him king. David's orders were carried out without delay, and his action was greeted by the people with joy. Adonijah's party, taken completely by surprise, scattered in all directions, and Adonijah himself took sanctuary, but came forth upon assurance of safety, and rendered

homage to Solomon. Soon after this event David seems to have died. He was a man eminently fitted to rule. As a warrior, he not only possessed great personal courage, but was also a strategist of no mean ability, as he showed by his conduct of the Philistine wars. As a ruler he was just and equitable. He possessed consummate tact, and had the gift of personal magnetism in an uncommon degree. His reputation as a poet and musician doubtless rested upon good grounds, and these accomplishments mark a degree of culture which must have been rare at that time in Israel. His affection for his family is well known, and the sincerity of his religion cannot be doubted. He brought to a successful completion, in a way that perhaps no man then living could have done, the work begun by Saul, and at his death he left a strong and united Israel—a kingdom compact and well organized, stable at home and respected abroad. He had his faults, it is true. Like many other great men, he was peculiarly susceptible to feminine charms, and his behavior in the matter of Uriah's wife is the one dark blot on his character. But when reproached with his crime by Nathan, his frank confession was worthy a man and a king. David, with all his weaknesses, was a king who deserved all the gratitude and admiration lavished upon him by his people.

In David's old age a beautiful damsel, Abishag, from Shunem in Issachar, had been provided as a companion for him, and after his death she remained at court. Adonijah desired to have her, and requested Bathsheba to use her influence with Solomon in his behalf. To the king, however, the matter did not appear so simple. Marriage with the king's widow established a sort of claim, and Ish-bosheth, the son of Saul, had similarly regarded a request of Abner, and had directly accused him of aiming at the succession. Solomon now took the same view, and determined to get rid of Adonijah, whom he regarded as aiming at the throne, or who might at any time become a dangerous competitor. He therefore caused Adonijah to be put to death, together with those whom he considered as belonging to his party. Joab was slain, and Abiathar, who owed his life to his priestly rank, was ordered to leave Jerusalem and retire to his estates. The most important event of Solomon's reign was the reappearance of the Egyptians in southern Syria to renew their claims of sovereignty over their old dominions, but how far they succeeded is uncertain. The city of Gezer, which they captured and gave to Solomon, commanded the

important trade route to the Euphrates, and it is fair to presume that the country to the south fell into their hands. It is probable that Solomon, who became the ally of Egypt and cemented the alliance by marriage with an Egyptian princess, undertook, in return for the recognition of his sovereignty and the cession of Gezer, to keep open and protect the trade route upon which Egypt's commerce in this direction depended. If this be the case, the service he rendered was of the most important character. As a grain-growing country Egypt must find a market for her grain, and if the sea route alone were open, a monopoly of the trade would fall into the hands of the Phœnicians, who would thus be enabled to buy at their own price. Moreover, in the matter of grain Babylonia was a dangerous competitor and, with the land route closed, Egypt was practically excluded from the Euphratean market. If, however, this important route were kept open, Egypt could compete with Babylonia without being forced to use the Phœnicians as middlemen. Another important event about this time was the founding of the kingdom of Damascus, which later became a dangerous rival of Israel.

Solomon maintained a considerable standing army, built and garrisoned a number of strongholds, and in general maintained the kingdom of David in its integrity. His building operations, to which he gave great attention, included a new palace, the temple, the walls of Jerusalem, the border fortresses, and the garrison and provision towns. For these costly undertakings he had to employ Phœnician architects and artisans, though he forced large numbers of his own people to serve as laborers. As he did not have the cash to pay the foreign artisans, he was obliged to cede to King Hiram of Tyre certain territory in the northern part of Israel's domains. The exaction of forced labor from the people gave rise to much discontent, and Jeroboam's rebellion was an outcome of this feeling, but Solomon was too strong, and Jeroboam had to take refuge in Egypt. Solomon, with his buildings, his riches, and his love of splendor, was the typical Oriental despot. His ruling motive was not the good of his people, but his own aggrandizement, and yet his course bore valuable fruit. He forced his people up to the level of the culture then prevailing in Western Asia, a condition essential to the position they were later to occupy in the world's history. Under his reign the people of Israel took yet another step forward. From a nomadic they had become a

settled people, and they had fought out their independence and acquired their unity in the Philistine wars. Under David they gained a solid organization, and now they took their place as a civilized nation alongside their neighbors.

The death of Solomon was destined to disturb the existing order. David's personal magnetism and tact had kept the discordant elements, Israel and Judah, from actual rupture, but he had been unable to weld them together. The splendor of Solomon's reign had not improved the situation in this respect; indeed, his oppression had made matters worse. After his death Jeroboam, shrewdly gauging the popular sentiment, ventured to return from Egypt, and called a meeting at Shechem of all the tribes except Judah. Rehoboam, who had ascended the throne of his father, Solomon, at Jerusalem, also appeared at Shechem, in order to be crowned there and to treat with Israel. He was coolly received, and the demand was presented to him that he should lighten the people's burdens. With headstrong folly he rejected the advice of his older and more experienced counselors, and declared that, so far from lessening the burdens, he would add to them. He would be king in fact, as well as in name, and could endure no interference. At this Israel broke out in open rebellion. Rehoboam was forced to return to Jerusalem in hasty flight, and when he sent his taskmaster, Adoniram, that officer was stoned to death. The breach was complete: Israel and Judah had parted, never more to unite. Rehoboam ruled in Jerusalem over Judah, while Jeroboam was made king of the northern kingdom of Israel, embracing the territory of the other ten tribes. Rehoboam, who could ill brook the loss of the fairest portion of his kingdom, promptly declared war against the Israelites as rebels, and hostilities were carried on between the two kingdoms for the space of some sixty years, covering the reigns of Rehoboam and his immediate successors, Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat. At first Rehoboam, aided by the treasures and materials of war accumulated by his father, Solomon, gained some successes, but in the end the advantage rested with Israel. In the meantime, in Israel, the dynasty of Jeroboam ended with his son, Nadab, who was murdered, together with his whole family, by Baasha ben Abijah of the tribe of Issachar, and Elah, the son and successor of this usurper, was slain, after a reign of two years, by Zimri, the commander of his chariot forces. The army, however, then in the field against the Philistines proclaimed

their general, Omri, as king, and Zimri, besieged in his capital, Tirzah, and seeing no hope of escape, set fire to the royal palace and perished in the flames, after a reign of only seven days. At first Omri met with some opposition, and another pretender, Tibni ben Ginath, held out against him for some time. Gradually, however, Omri's party became the stronger, and, after Tibni's death, his rule was undisputed. Some two years after his accession he removed his capital from Tirzah to Samaria, a site admirably adapted to the purpose on account of its central location and its strong strategic position. Omri, a valiant soldier and a prudent ruler, now raised Israel to a position of strength and influence among the surrounding states. He married his son, Ahab, to Jezebel, daughter of Ithobaal (Ethbaal), king of Tyre, thus cementing an advantageous alliance with the powerful Phœnician state, and he seems also to have subdued and made tributary the northern part of Moab. Against the Syrian kingdom of Damascus Omri was less successful. He lost several towns on his northern frontier and was obliged to concede special privileges to the Syrian merchants in his capital, Samaria. His son and successor, Ahab, concluded peace with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and thus put an end to the long period of warfare between the two kindred kingdoms. About this time a new power appeared in the field. The Assyrians had for some time been pushing their way westward toward the Mediterranean coast and, in 854 B. C., advanced as far as Aleppo. At Karkar, on the Euphrates, they were met by a coalition of Syrian princes, among whom were Hadadezer of Damascus and Ahab of Israel. Shalmaneser, the Assyrian king, claims the victory, but as he retired homeward immediately after the battle it may be conjectured that his boast was a vain one. Although thus united for the moment by the common danger, Israel and Damascus were by no means upon friendly terms. Some three years before the battle of Karkar, Hadadezer had besieged Samaria, but was defeated by the skillful tactics of Ahab, and a year after this, as the result of a campaign in the open field, Israel regained the frontier towns that had been acquired by Syria during Omri's reign. In 853, a year after the battle of Karkar, hostilities again broke out, and Ahab, though he gained the victory, lost his life in battle.

The influence of Canaanite culture and the growing tendency to heathenism arising from it had long been looked upon with

abhorrence by certain zealous followers of Jahweh, and this feeling was evidenced in the formation of several ascetic bodies. The Nazirites, vowed to the service of Israel's God, drank no wine and allowed their hair to grow long in token of their vow. The Rechabites, whose founder, Jonadab ben Rechab, was a contemporary of Jehu, not only abstained from wine, but dwelt in tents, took no part in the cultivation of the soil and, living as herdsmen and shepherds, endeavored to cling closer to the ancient ideals and to preserve the purity and simplicity of Jahweh's worship. Of greater importance were the prophets, who first make their appearance about the time of Saul. The earlier prophets were composed of zealous worshipers associated together in bands, practising peculiar rites, and carrying religious enthusiasm to the pitch of ecstasy, which they regarded as the sign of divine inspiration. Their sole object was the attainment of a higher degree of personal holiness, and they had no ulterior aim. In course of time a change came about. The later prophets, while still dwelling together in communities and wearing a peculiar dress, discarded the orgiastic practices of their predecessors, and took up the nobler task of furthering the cause of Jahweh by the edifying example of their lives and by instructing the people in the will of God. In the ancient world religion and patriotism were inseparable, and it was not long before the prophets became an influence in the state, though only a few of them attained to special prominence. In the reign of Ahab the prophet Elijah stands out preëminently, and his disciple and successor, Elisha, thoroughly imbued with the views of his predecessor, was able by his personal influence and authority to bring about the fall of the house of Omri. Ahab, in compliment to his Tyrian wife, Jezebel, had permitted the building in Samaria of a temple to Baal of Tyre. Ahab was himself a worshiper of Jahweh; his action in the matter was largely due to political considerations, and he had as a precedent the example of Solomon in a similar case. The mass of the people certainly found nothing offensive in it. To Elijah it was nothing short of sacrilege. Jahweh alone was Israel's God, and he should not be insulted by the presence of a rival in his own domain. Ahab was an apostate, and on him and on the foreign princes, to whose influence his deed was ascribed, should fall the vengeance of the offended Deity. After the judicial murder of Naboth and the seizure of his inheritance, the indignation of Elijah knew no bounds, and entering the royal presence he fear-

lessly spoke his message before Jezebel and the king, who shared the results of her crime. The death of Ahab in battle against the Syrians was regarded as a partial fulfillment of Elijah's prophecy. In 844 B. C. Hazael ascended the throne of Damascus, and shortly thereafter hostilities with Israel broke out afresh. Jehoram, the son of Ahab, who became king on the death of his brother, Ahaziah, was wounded in battle and retired to Jezreel, leaving his general, Jehu, in command of the army. Elijah was dead, but his mantle had fallen on Elisha, and the prophet thought the moment ripe for the long-contemplated overthrow of the house of Omri and for uprooting the worship of Baal in Israel. Sending a prophet to the camp at Ramoth, he caused him secretly to anoint Jehu as king of Israel. As soon as the fact became known, Jehu was proclaimed by the army, and promptly followed up his advantage. Hastening swiftly to Jezreel, he met, on his way thither, Jehoram, accompanied by his nephew, Ahaziah, king of Judah. Jehoram turned to flee, but fell from his chariot, pierced from behind by an arrow, and Ahaziah escaped, mortally wounded, to Megiddo, where he died. Pushing on to Jezreel, Jehu caused Jezebel to be thrown from a window of the palace, and she perished beneath his horses' feet. The authorities of Samaria, struck with terror at Jehu's approach, sought to gain his favor by sending him the heads of seventy persons, descendants or relatives of Ahab, and in a brief time the house of Omri was annihilated. Having thus gained secure possession of the throne, the first care of Jehu was to root out the worship of Baal, and he did his work so thoroughly that thenceforth the worship of foreign gods is found no more in Israel.

In 842 B. C. Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, invaded Syria for the fifth time, and directed his attack against the kingdom of Damascus. Hazael was defeated and took refuge in his capital, where he was fruitlessly besieged. On this occasion Jehu sent gifts to the Assyrian monarch, and thereby proclaimed himself the friend of Assyria and the enemy of Hazael. After another raid in 839 the Assyrian attacks ceased for a considerable time, and the Mediterranean states were left to their own devices. The war between Damascus and Israel was promptly renewed, and for some time the advantage was with the former state. Under Jehoahaz, the son and successor of Jehu, Israel lost a large part of her territory and only maintained her independence with the greatest difficulty. About 805, however, Adad-nihan, king of Assyria, appeared before

Damascus with an army and exacted a heavy tribute. Joash, king of Israel, the son of Jehoahaz, seized the opportunity to make war upon the Syrians, and defeated them in several decisive engagements. Under Jeroboam II., the son of Joash, the war against Damascus was prosecuted with increased success, the lost territory of Israel was regained, Moab was again subdued, and the bounds of the kingdom extended from Hamath in the north to the brook of Arabah in the south. Under this king Israel attained a degree of prosperity unequaled since the time of David. The period of prosperity was, however, a brief one. On the death of Jeroboam II. his son, Zachariah, ascended the throne, but he was murdered, after reigning only half a year, by Shallum ben Jabesh, and with him the dynasty of Jehu came to an end. Shallum did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. After a month's reign he was, in his turn, dethroned and slain by Menahem ben Gadi, who made himself king in his stead. In the meantime the Assyrians, under their king, Tiglath-Pileser III., were operating with renewed energy against the Syrian states. In 740 Arpad was taken after a brave defense, and Hiram of Tyre and Rezin of Damascus hastened to enroll themselves among the tributaries of Assyria. In 738 the district along the Orontes, between Arpad and Damascus, became an Assyrian province, and in the same year Menahem purchased the forbearance of Assyria by the payment of a heavy tribute. Menahem's son and successor, Pekahiah, was murdered by Pekah ben Ramaliah, who, upon his accession, made an alliance with Rezin of Damascus, and the allied kings invited Judah to join with them then for defense against the encroachments of Assyria. On the refusal of Judah, Pekah and Rezin marched against Jerusalem, and Ahaz, who then reigned there, found his situation most critical. In his extremity he besought the aid of the Assyrians and placed himself under their protection. In 734 or 733 Tiglath-Pileser, in response to the appeal of Ahaz, invaded Israel and at the same time besieged Rezin in Damascus. The northern portion of Israel, embracing the old territory of the tribes of Asher, Zebulon, and Naphthali, and the Israelite possessions east of the Jordan, were formed into an Assyrian province, and the inhabitants were transported to various parts of the Assyrian Empire. Pekah was slain by Hoshea ben Elah, and, with the approval of Tiglath-Pileser, became king of Israel in his stead, acknowledging the suzerainty of Assyria and binding himself to the payment of a large annual

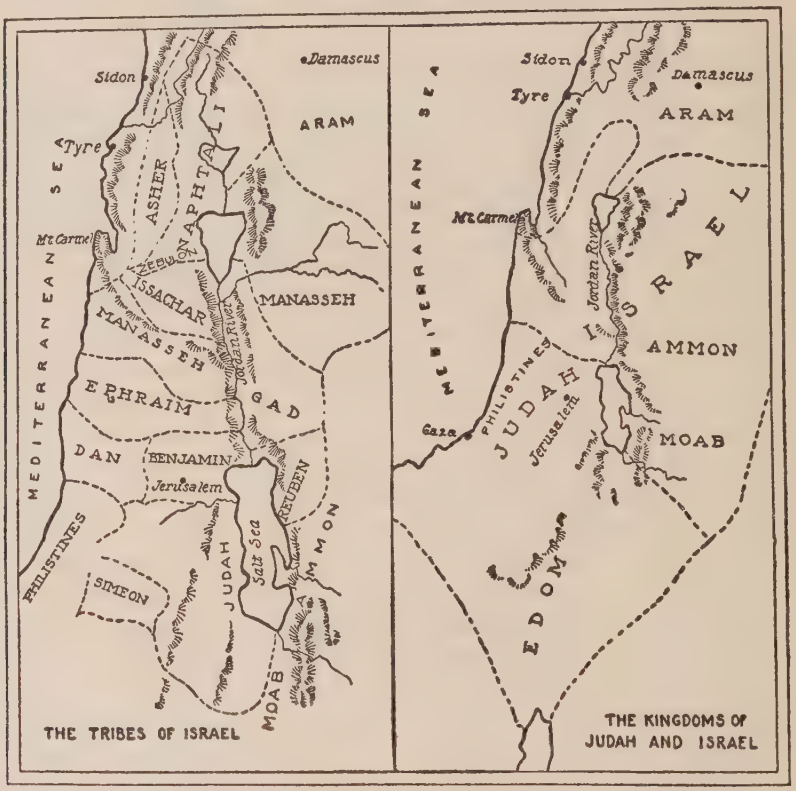
tribute. For some years Hoshea paid his tribute regularly, and the land enjoyed a brief period of rest and security, but in the death of Tiglath-Pileser in 727 the Syro-Palestinian states saw an opportunity to regain their independence, and Hoshea took part in the general revolt against Assyria. Shalmeneser IV., the successor of Tiglath-Pileser, invaded Israel and laid siege to Samaria, which held out bravely for three years (724-722). Shalmaneser died near the close of the siege, but the city was forced to surrender to his successor, Sargon. Hoshea, loaded with chains, was cast into prison, and 27,280 of the inhabitants were deported to Mesopotamia and Media, their places being filled by colonists brought from other parts of the Assyrian Empire. The kingdom of Israel had fallen, never to rise again, its people were scattered, the land became a province of the conquerors, and an Assyrian governor ruled in Samaria, its ancient capital.

Chapter II

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH

THE kingdom of Judah had long played a subordinate part in the affairs of Palestine, and its political history had been determined by its relation to Israel. When King Ahaziah, mortally wounded by the followers of Jehu, died at Megiddo, his mother, Athaliah, the widow of Jehoram of Judah and daughter of Ahab of Israel, seized upon the government and ordered a general massacre of the Davidic line. Only one escaped. Joash, the infant son of Ahaziah, was rescued by his aunt, the wife of the high priest Jehoiada, and concealed in the temple, where he remained for six years. During this time Athaliah reigned unchallenged, and Jehoiada carefully concerted his measures for the restoration of his youthful ward to the throne of his fathers. At length, having won over the royal bodyguard, he brought Joash forth from his concealment and crowned him king in the temple amid the acclamations of the surrounding troops and people. Athaliah, coming to see the cause of the uproar, was led away and slain outside the temple precincts. After reigning forty years, Joash fell a victim to a conspiracy, which is said to have originated in motives of private revenge, but more probably arose from the popular discontent at the king's timid attitude toward his Syrian enemies. Joash's son, Amaziah, gained a brilliant victory over the Edomites, who had invaded Judah from the south, and thus reopened the commercial highway to the Red Sea. Encouraged by their success, he ventured to dispute the supremacy of Israel, but was utterly defeated, and himself fell into the hands of the enemy. Joash of Israel entered Jerusalem in triumph, made a breach of four hundred ells in the walls of the city, and took hostages for the future good behavior of Amaziah. Shortly after this Amaziah was slain, and his son, Uzziah, also called Azariah, was made king in his stead. Uzziah repaired the fortifications of Jerusalem and reorganized his army, which he brought into an effective condition. By fortifying Elath he secured to Judah the advantages of the Red Sea trade, to

which his father had opened the way by his victory over the Edomites, and gained some successes in warfare with the Philistines. After a long and prosperous reign he became afflicted with leprosy, and abdicated in favor of his son, Jotham, who, in his turn, was succeeded by his son, Ahaz. It was this ruler who, driven to extremities by the combined attack of Israel and Damascus, invoked



the aid of Assyria and saved his kingdom only by becoming an Assyrian vassal. This step, however urgent the necessity that called it forth, was mortifying to the national pride, and Hezekiah, who succeeded his father, Ahaz, about 720, or shortly before, was very strongly infused with patriotic resentment against Assyria. An opportunity to give expression to this feeling soon occurred. On the death of Shalmaneser IV., the Chaldean prince, Merodach-baladan, seized upon Babylonia and had himself crowned king in Babylon. In order to secure himself in his new position, he sought alliance

with the Syro-Palestinian states, and to this end sent an embassy to Hezekiah, inviting the king of Judah to make common cause with him against Assyria. Hamath on the Orontes was already preparing to revolt, with the support of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria, and Hanno of Gaza and Sib'i, the general of Pir'u, king of the north Arabian district of Musur, were associated with the movement, which, aided by Merodach-baladan, seemed to offer a fair prospect of success. How deeply Hezekiah was concerned in this affair it is difficult to say. At all events, the coalition was promptly crushed by Sargon, and Hezekiah seems to have been wary enough to escape the consequences of an open rebellion. In 711 he certainly took part, with Edom, Moab, and the Philistine cities, in an attempt to cast off the Assyrian yoke, but this revolt also was suppressed, and Hezekiah had to pay a heavy fine for his offense. But the hope of independence was not yet extinguished, and, on the death of Sargon in 705, there were renewed outbreaks, both in the south and in the west. Merodach-baladan again seized upon Babylon and while Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, was occupied in this quarter, the Phœnician and Palestinian states once more prepared to revolt. The revolt, however, broke out prematurely. The people of Ekron rose against Padi, their king, a tool of Assyria, and delivered him into the hands of Hezekiah of Judah, who cast him into prison. In the meantime Sennacherib had expelled Merodach-baladan from Babylon and was now free to direct his attention to affairs in the west. Suddenly appearing in that quarter with an army, he caught the confederates unprepared, and marched down the coast, receiving the submission of city after city in his progress. Judah was ravaged, Hezekiah was besieged in Jerusalem, and, though he gave up his prisoner Padi and paid an enormous sum as a ransom for himself and his city, Sennacherib was still unsatisfied. At this juncture an Egyptian army appeared in the south, and, though Sennacherib claims the victory in the engagement with the Egyptians, he evidently met with some disaster, since he retired to Assyria and invaded Palestine no more. In the reign of Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, the Assyrian Empire reached the culmination of its glory and power. Western Asia from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean owned the sway of the Assyrian monarch, and Egypt as far south as Thebes was forced to submit to him. Against this great power a small state like Judah could not hope to stand, and a voluntary submission

was the only popular course. Manasseh, who succeeded his father, Hezekiah, upon the throne of Judah, clearly perceived that his best interest lay in adherence to Assyria, and, though invited to join the revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, against his brother, Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, both sons of Esarhaddon, he held cautiously aloof. It is true that he withheld his tribute so long as the affair was in doubt, but as soon as the revolt was crushed he hastened to renew his allegiance and pay homage to the victor. Manasseh's son, Amon, trod in his father's footsteps during his brief reign of two years. Amon was succeeded, in 640 B. C., by his eighteen-year-old son, Josiah, whose reign brought with it a reaction against the ultra-liberal tendencies of Manasseh and Amon in the matter of religion. The last two monarchs, in spite of the vehement opposition of the prophetic party, had introduced into the national worship a number of innovations derived from Assyrian and Canaanite sources, and had freely tolerated the worship of foreign gods. Under Josiah the party of the prophets gained the upper hand, and a great religious reform took place. In 621 the Book of Deuteronomy was discovered, and sent by Hilkiah, the high priest, to Josiah, and the king, upon hearing it read, was so deeply impressed that he ordered its precepts to be carried into effect without delay. The worship of foreign gods in Judah and the heathen observances that had crept into the popular cult were strenuously suppressed and the symbols of heathen worship were destroyed throughout the land. Even the local sanctuaries of Jahweh were abolished, and the temple at Jerusalem became the sole seat of the national worship.

In the meantime the great Assyrian Empire was rapidly nearing its end. On the death (626) of Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, the Chaldean prince, Nabopolassar, had made himself king of Babylon (625-605), and became the founder of the later Babylonian Empire, nor were the successors of Ashur-bani-pal able to oppose his claims. Egypt gained her independence about 645, and her energetic ruler, Psamtik I., cherished the ambition of regaining the long-lost Asiatic possessions of his remote predecessors. In Syria the great Kimmerian and Scythian invasion, occurring toward the close of Ashur-bani-pal's reign, had thoroughly disorganized the country, and the threatening attitude of the Medes left the Ninevite government little leisure to pay heed to the distant provinces on the Mediterranean. Taking advantage of this combination of circumstances,

Josiah easily effected the independence of his country and even extended his sway over portions of the former kingdom of Israel. In 608, while Nineveh was besieged by the Medes, the Pharaoh Necho invaded Asia in order to secure a share in the possession of Assyria, now in the last throes of dissolution. Josiah, loath to give up his lately acquired independence to a new master, met him with an army at Megiddo, and fell in the battle. His younger son, Jehoahaz, was chosen to succeed him by the national party, and was crowned at Jerusalem, but the choice was not approved by Necho, who deposed Jehoahaz and placed his brother, Jehoiakim, upon the throne. Upon the fall of Nineveh in 606 the Assyrian Empire was dismembered and the western provinces fell to the share of Nabopolassar, who sent his son, Nebuchadrezzar, to expel Necho and make good his own claims to Syria and Palestine. Necho, defeated at Carchemish, was forced to abandon Syria and retreat to Egypt. In 605 the death of his father obliged Nebuchadrezzar to return to Babylon and take measures to secure his own succession to the throne, but he soon returned and completed the subjection of the Mediterranean provinces. For some time Jehoiakim continued to pay his annual tribute to Babylon, but in 598, relying upon the support of Egypt, he revolted. When Nebuchadrezzar's army appeared before Jerusalem to punish his rebellion, Jehoiakim was dead and his son, Jehoiachin, sat upon the throne of Judah. After a brief siege Jerusalem surrendered, and Jehoiachin was carried into exile to Babylon, together with a large number of more important citizens, among them the prophet Ezekiel. Nebuchadrezzar considered this punishment sufficient to secure quiet for the future, and permitted Zedekiah, the son of Josiah, to ascend the throne of Judah. But the spirit of revolt still smoldered, and Egypt, for her own purposes, was ever ready to fan it into flame. In 593 a plan of liberation was set on foot by Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon, and Zedekiah was invited to take part. In large measure through the urgent advice of the prophet Jeremiah he declined to participate, and the scheme eventually fell through. It would seem, however, that news of the incident reached the ears of Nebuchadrezzar, since Zedekiah found it advisable to appear in person before the Babylonian monarch and give assurance of his loyalty. In 588 the longing for independence was stimulated by the promise of help from the Pharaoh Hophra, then at war with Tyre and Sidon, and Judah revolted. Nebuchadrezzar was prompt to act, and his army was

soon encamped at Riblah on the Orontes. The siege of Jerusalem began in January, 587, and lasted for a year and a half. The hopes of the besieged rose high when Hophra marched against the Chaldeans and forced them to raise the siege, but the Egyptian army was defeated and the siege renewed. The beleaguered city held out with the strength of desperation, though pestilence and famine thinned the ranks of the defenders, and the defeat of Hophra cut off all hope of aid. The end was inevitable. On July 9, 586, the Chaldeans entered through a breach in the wall, and Jerusalem was lost. Zedekiah, with a small body of troops, escaped from the city and fled toward the Jordan, but was overtaken and brought before Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah; his sons were slain before his eyes, and he himself was led captive to Babylon. A month later the royal palace, the temple, and the principal buildings of the city were destroyed by fire, and the wall of Jerusalem was leveled to the ground. Seventy or eighty citizens of note were put to death at Riblah and the remaining inhabitants were deported to Babylonia. The exiled Jews were in general kindly treated, and they were not scattered through the various districts of the empire, but were settled in Babylonia and allowed to dwell together. Many of them engaged in commerce and became rich. Not a few readily adapted themselves to the new conditions and were absorbed in the native population, as had been the case with their exiled brethren in Mesopotamia and Media. To the faithful remnant, however, who held fast to their national faith, this foreign land was unclean, and it was impossible to serve Jahweh there as he should be served. Yearning constantly for return to their native land, they adhered closely to all the observances of their religion and held aloof from the heathen among whom their lot was cast. Offerings to Jahweh could only be made in the temple at Jerusalem, but prayer, fasting, circumcision, and the observance of the Sabbath were scrupulously maintained, and even acquired a new importance. It is probable that the weekly meetings on the Sabbath for worship and prayer date from this time. The study of the sacred writings was carried on with zeal by the learned among the exiles, and a new school of theology arose, in whose teaching the monotheistic conception of the Deity was emphasized and broadened. Jahweh was still Israel's God, and his blessings were for Israel alone, but he was no longer merely a tribal or a national Deity. The conception of the Deity as an all-wise, all-ruling power, having dominion over the universe, became firmly

fixed in the minds of the chosen people during the Babylonian captivity.

The victorious career of Cyrus was watched with eager hope by the Jewish community in Babylonia, who looked upon him as the deliverer Jahweh had promised them by the mouth of the prophets. At first the petty king of a small district, the vassal of Astyages of Media, he had vanquished his former master in the field and had made himself ruler of the great Median Empire. A few years later he had invaded Asia Minor, and in a single campaign subdued the powerful kingdom of Lydia. Even now Babylon trembled before him. Its vacillating king, Nabonidos, was wholly unequal to the task imposed upon him, and his feeble measures for the defense of his capital offered but a slight obstacle to the progress of his opponent. In 539 the Babylonian army was defeated at Sippara, and the popular discontent against Nabonidos went to the verge of revolt. The following year Cyrus entered Babylon without bloodshed and took possession of the city amid the acclamations of the people. He established Babylon as one of his capitals, paid honor to Marduk, the local deity, and permitted freedom of worship to all the peoples of his vast empire. At the solicitation of the Jews he gave them permission to restore their national sanctuary at Jerusalem and sent Sheshbazzar, himself a Jew, thither as governor. But although the cornerstone of the temple is said to have been laid at this time, Sheshbazzar encountered unexpected hindrances and the work soon came to a standstill. A considerable number of the exiles returned to Jerusalem with the new governor, and when they desired to recover the former possessions of their families they found them occupied by descendants of the residue of the Jews who had been allowed to remain in Palestine in 586 B. C. These were naturally unwilling to resign to the newcomers the property they had held for two generations. The religious reform of Josiah had spread through the mixed population of Samaria, and they had held fast to the worship of Jahweh during the period of the exile, but when they now desired to make common cause with the Jews of Jerusalem, the latter received their advances in no friendly spirit, and the aggrieved Samaritans retaliated by placing obstacles in their path. The number of returning exiles was as yet too small to cope with the difficulties before them, and for a number of years the undertaking languished. It was not until 519 that work on the temple was actually begun, and more than four years were consumed in its

construction. In March, 515, it was solemnly dedicated. The restoration of the temple was a great achievement, but the condition of the Jewish colonists at Jerusalem was not materially improved. Dissensions still continued between the native inhabitants and the returned exiles, the walls of Jerusalem were not yet restored, and the defenseless state of the city subjected it to the oppression of their more powerful neighbors whose hostility had been incurred by the rejection of their proffered friendship. The wealthier families of the Jewish community sought only their own selfish interests, and a certain laxity and depression began to pervade all classes. The exclusiveness of the earlier colonists gave way, they mingled more freely with their neighbors, and intermarriage with the surrounding people was largely practiced. In this way strong heathen influences were brought to bear, and threatened to undermine the Judaism of the new community. The work of restoring the Jewish community at Jerusalem to a position of external security and of regenerating it from a moral and religious standpoint was accomplished by two men, Nehemiah and Ezra. The former was the cup-bearer of King Artaxerxes I. (465-425), and while occupied with the duties of his position at Susa heard from his brother Hanani and other Jews of the unhappy plight of their brethren at Jerusalem. Nehemiah tactfully obtained from the king permission to repair the walls of Jerusalem, as well as a commission for himself as governor of Judah, and went thither in the year 445. After carefully inspecting the fortifications, which had lain dismantled since the capture of the city by Nebuchadrezzar in 586, he summoned the priests, elders, and other notables, and laid his plans before them. The work was portioned out among the people of the city and the Jews of the adjacent country, and was carried on with great rapidity. The Samaritan prince Sanballat and his adherents sought in vain to hinder its progress. An armed guard prevented open attack upon the workmen, and the crafty devices of the Samaritans were frustrated by the wariness of Nehemiah. In fifty-two days the walls were thoroughly repaired, and the city was once more in a position of defense. After a sojourn of twelve years as governor of Judah, Nehemiah returned for a time to the Persian court in 533, and it was probably during his absence that the arrival of Ezra the Scribe took place. Indeed, it is possible that the latter was induced to come by Nehemiah, who found the needed religious reformation a task beyond his power. Ezra gathered a body of

nearly six thousand Jews, then living in exile, and led them to Jerusalem, where their zeal for the law stimulated the faith of their lukewarm brethren, and their numbers added considerably to the general strength. Upon his arrival, Ezra took prompt measures to suppress marriages with aliens and lent effective aid to Nehemiah in reorganizing the community. A general meeting of all the people was called and, after Ezra had read the law, the assembled multitude took a solemn obligation to observe its provisions. The covenant with Jahweh was thus renewed, Judaism was purified from the taint of heathenism, and the danger of absorption among the people of Canaan was averted. The organization of the post-exilic community was based upon the theory that its members were a holy people dwelling upon holy ground. At its head was the high priest, next to him stood the several orders of the priesthood, and a class of special influence was formed by the scribes, often members of the priestly order, who devoted themselves to the study and interpretation of the law. Civil affairs, so far as they were not administered by the Persian governor, were in the hands of the elders or heads of important families, who formed a sort of council. Political independence was not contemplated in the constitution of the state laid down by Ezra and Nehemiah. It was the aim of these great reformers to secure their people in their religious possession to the fullest extent, unhampered by those political aspirations whose danger had been repeatedly shown. Within this period falls the foundation of the Samaritan community. Manasseh, a Jewish priest of rank, was expelled from Jerusalem by Nehemiah in 432 because he refused to put away his alien wife, the daughter of Sanballat. He took refuge with his father-in-law, who built him a temple on Mount Gerizim, and he there organized a Samaritan religious community, taking as their law the Five Books of Moses with but slight modifications in the text. During the last years of the Persian dominion the history of the Jews is either obscure or presents few salient points. It seems, nevertheless, to have been a period of prosperity. The population steadily increased and the influence of Judaism spread through the surrounding country, extending to Galilee, Philistia, and many parts of Peræa. At the same time the Hebrew language was replaced in vernacular use by the Aramaean, and henceforth only survived as the language of religious life and of the learned.

In 332 Palestine submitted willingly to Alexander the Great, and after his death its possession was disputed for a time by Antig-

onus and Ptolemy. Before 301 it had become a province of Egypt, and so continued, except during short intervals, for about a century. During the rule of the Ptolemies many Jews settled in Egypt, where they soon constituted an important element of the population, especially at Alexandria. It was for the benefit of the Egyptians that the Greek version of the Old Testament, known as the Septuagint, was made. The Pentateuch seems to have been translated into Greek in the reigns of the first and second Ptolemies; the translation of the remaining books was gradually accomplished in later times. In the priestly dynasty at Jerusalem during the Ptolemaic supremacy, Onias I., the descendant of Eliashib, who held the office of high priest in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, was succeeded by his son, Simon I., and after him came, first his brothers Eleazar and Manasseh, and next his son, Onias II. The latter, who nearly brought about a rupture with Egypt by his refusal to pay the customary tribute, was succeeded by his son, Simon II., the end of whose high priesthood coincided with a change of masters for Palestine. Antiochus III. of Syria (223-187), though defeated by the Egyptians at Raphia in 217, renewed the attack after the death of Ptolemy IV. (204), and, by the victory of Paneas in 198, gained secure possession of all southern Syria, including Palestine. He concluded a peace with Ptolemy V. and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, but, though he promised to give Coele Syria and Palestine as her dowry, the promise was never kept. Antiochus was succeeded (187) by his son, Seleucus, and he, in turn, by his brother, Antiochus IV. (175-164), surnamed Epiphanes. For some time the influence of Greek culture had been making itself felt in Palestine, and many Jews yielded to its effects. In almost all cases these belonged to the aristocratic classes, who began to feel ashamed of their Jewish provincialism, and imitated the customs of the cultivated Greeks with whom they came in contact. Many gave way to a sort of refined skepticism, and some were not ashamed to countenance or even to participate in heathen worship. The mass of the people, however, clung jealously to Judaism and refused to be seduced into the adoption of Hellenic ideas and customs, while a strong party among the nobles bitterly opposed the Hellenizing process. The high priest, Onias III., son of Simon II., was deposed by Antiochus in 173, and the office was given to his brother, Jason, who undertook to pay the king a large sum of money and to lend his aid in the Hellenization of his people. Three years later (171)

he was replaced by Menelaus, whose robbery of the temple treasury, in order to make good his promised bribe to the king for his appointment, incensed the people against him to the utmost degree. In 170 the report prevailed that Antiochus, then warring in Egypt, was dead, and, taking advantage of the popular feeling, Jason returned and drove out Menelaus. The report was false. In the same year Antiochus returned from Egypt, and, enraged at the uprising against his authority, he plundered the temple and put to death the leaders of the party opposed to him. Two years later (168) he caused Jerusalem to be again occupied by an armed force, and converted Acra into a strong fortress with a garrison of sufficient strength to hold the city in subjection. The Jewish worship was abolished, and an altar to Zeus Olympios was set up in the desecrated temple. The rolls of the law were burned, circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath were forbidden, and those who remained true to their religion and resisted the tyrant's will were slaughtered. In the country towns, also, heathen altars were erected, and the people were compelled, on pain of death, publicly to adore the false gods and to eat swine's flesh that had been sacrificed to idols. The Jews were to be Hellenized by main force. At first there was no thought of armed resistance to these tyrannical measures, though the people were deeply stirred. The aristocratic party, headed by Menelaus, promptly submitted, while the pious fled to the deserts, and so great was their regard for the law that, on the Sabbath, they allowed themselves to be slain by their persecutors rather than employ weapons on that day. But the spirit of resistance was only dormant, and it needed but a suitable leader to awake. Such a leader was not long in appearing. The priest Mattathias, of the family of the Hasmonæans, who lived at the country town of Modein, to the west of Jerusalem, enraged at beholding a Jew offering sacrifice upon a heathen altar at the command of a Syrian officer, slew both the Jew and the officer and destroyed the altar. Taking with him his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan, Mattathias fled to the hill country and there gathered a band of determined men, ready to fight for their religion against all odds, even upon the Sabbath, if need be. He was joined by large numbers of persecuted Jews, especially those belonging to the sect of the Hasideans or Pious, and ere long found himself at the head of a considerable force. They traversed the country, destroying the altars of false gods, enforcing the observance of the Mosaic law, and persecuting

the heathen and renegade Jews. Mattathias soon died, and the leadership devolved upon his son Judas, surnamed Maccabæus, who now felt strong enough to abandon guerrilla tactics and take the field openly against Syria. In 166 he defeated Apollonius, the governor of Judæa, and routed Seron, governor of Coele Syria, near Bethhoron. The regent Lysias, to whom Antiochus had committed the government during his absence in the East, sent an army against Judas in three divisions, but this also was unsuccessful. In 164 the regent himself took the field, but encountered a stubborn resistance, and the news of Antiochus's death obliged him to withdraw. Judas Maccabæus now had possession of Jerusalem, the law of Jahweh was reëstablished, the temple was purified from its defilement by the heathen, and the smoke of burned offerings once more arose to Israel's God. Acra still remained in possession of the Syrians, but its beleaguered garrison could accomplish little. In a series of rapid campaigns Judas and his brother Simon inspired the neighboring heathens with a wholesome respect for the Jewish arms, rescued their oppressed brethren in the outlying districts of Galilee and Peræa, and brought them safely to Jerusalem.

In 162 the regent Lysias moved to the relief of the garrison of Acra, which still held out, captured Bethsur, and laid siege to the temple of Jerusalem. Its ill-provisioned garrison was induced to surrender upon promise of favorable terms, including a general amnesty and freedom of religion for the whole people. But though the prime object of the struggle was now attained, Judas and his brothers did not feel inclined to give way to Alkimus, a man favorable to the Greek party, who was now appointed high priest, and the presence of a Syrian force under Bacchides was necessary before the nominee could be installed in his office. The behavior of Alkimus was such that he became extremely unpopular, and as soon as the support of Bacchides was withdrawn he was promptly expelled. A Syrian army dispatched to restore him was defeated, and its general, Nicanor, was slain, but a subsequent expedition under Bacchides was more successful; Jerusalem was taken, and Judas fell in battle. Jonathan, now become the leader by his brother's death, retired to Michmash, where he was able to hold out for some years against all the efforts of his enemies. In 153, when Alexander Balas, the reputed son of Antiochus IV., rose against Demetrius I., king of Syria, both parties courted the alliance of Jonathan, and he made use of the opportunity to return to Jerusalem, whence he

expelled the heathen and their sympathizers among the Jews. He was recognized by Demetrius as prince of Judah, and the year of his return he became high priest. By skillful management he maintained himself until 142, when Trypho, a pretender to the crown of Syria, entrapped him into his power and put him to death. Jonathan's brother, Simon, the last surviving son of Mattathias, expelled the Syrian garrison from Acra and was formally recognized by the people as their high priest and ruler. In 134 he was succeeded by his son, John Hyrcanus, who was at first hard pressed by the Syrian king, and forced to surrender Jerusalem; but when Antiochus fell in battle against the Parthians (128), the Hasmonæan prince restored the independence of his people and extended his dominion over Idumæa and Samaria. He died in 104 B. C., after a prosperous reign of thirty years. John Hyrcanus was followed by his son, Aristobulus I., who reigned but a single year, and was succeeded by his brother, Alexander Jannæus (102-76). Alexander's widow, Salome, who exercised the regency from 75 to 67, gave the dignity of high priest to her eldest son, Hyrcanus. On her death a contest arose between Hyrcanus and his brother, Aristobulus, which continued until the year 65, when Scaurus, the legate of Pompey, came to Syria and decided the matter in favor of Aristobulus. Subsequently the dispute broke out anew, and, in 63, when Pompey himself visited Syria, he caused Aristobulus to be arrested, and laid siege to Jerusalem. The party of Hyrcanus soon yielded up the city, but the adherents of Aristobulus, who had fortified themselves in the temple, held out three months longer. Finally, in June, the temple was carried by storm, but Pompey, though he visited the inner sanctuary, respected the feelings of the Jews and permitted no desecration of the sacred edifice. Hyrcanus received the high priesthood, but his dominions were greatly curtailed and the royal dignity was abolished. Jerusalem was occupied by a Roman garrison, and Aristobulus, with his sons, Alexander and Antigonus, was led captive to Rome.

In the meantime two political parties had arisen in the state, the Sadducees and the Pharisees. The former, who took their name from Zadok, the ancestor of the higher priesthood of Jerusalem, were of the aristocratic class, and in politics were opportunists. While outwardly conforming to the established rites of Judaism, they observed a certain worldly philosophy and a mild skepticism in religious matters, and denied the existence of a future state beyond

the grave. The Pharisees, or Separatists, were originally not a political party at all, and only became so through stress of circumstances. As a religious sect they were distinguished by a minute observance of the law, and their ideal of personal piety was an intense formalism. As the teachers and upholders of the law, they were highly regarded by the masses of the people, and in the reign of Alexander Jannæus, enraged at the worldly attitude of the king, they publicly insulted him and even called in his adversary, Demetrius, against him. For this they were severely persecuted and forced into exile, but they returned during the regency of Salome and gained great influence over the queen. In the civil war following her death the Pharisees took the part of Hyrcanus, while the Sadducees sided with Aristobulus. The conflict of these two rival parties was of great advantage to Antipater, the Idumæan, whose father, Antipas, had been made governor of Idumæa by John Hyrcanus. In the contest between the two grandsons of the latter Antipater lent his support to Hyrcanus and became his confidential friend and adviser, completely directing his policy and exercising a paramount influence in Jewish affairs. By the people Hyrcanus was looked upon as the creature of Antipater and the Romans, and they favored the cause of Aristobulus and his sons in the several revolts headed by them between 57 and 55 B. C. These risings were promptly put down, and the influence of Antipater became stronger than ever. In the year 49 Julius Cæsar commissioned Aristobulus to drive the partisans of Pompey from Syria, but Aristobulus and his son Alexander were poisoned before the commission could be carried into effect. After the death of Pompey, Antipater gained the good will of Cæsar by important services, and both he and his nominal ruler, Hyrcanus, were richly rewarded. Hyrcanus received the hereditary dignity of ethnarch of the Jews, and became the ally of Rome with special privileges, while the plain of Jezreel and the port of Joppa were added to his dominions. Antipater became a Roman citizen and was made procurator of Judæa. A few years later he was poisoned by contrivance of the Sadducees, but their crime availed them nothing. Antipater's son, Herod, whom his father had made governor of Galilee, repressed a fresh attempt of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and gained the friendship of the aged Hyrcanus, who gave him in marriage his great-niece Mariamne, daughter of Alexander. After the battle of Philippi (42 B. C.), in spite of the opposition of the Jewish aristocracy Antony

made Herod and his brother Phasael tetrarchs of Judæa. In 40 B. C. the invasion of Syria by the Parthians gave Antigonus a new opportunity to assert his pretensions, and the mass of the people took his side. Hyrcanus was sent a captive to Babylonia, Phasael slew himself in prison, and Herod fled to Rome; but Antigonus did not long enjoy his success. Through the influence of Antony and Octavian, Herod was named king of the Jews by the Roman senate, and after a three years' war he gained possession of his kingdom by the aid of Roman troops. Antigonus was captured and beheaded at Antioch. The first act of the new king was to destroy the power of the Sadducees, many of whom he caused to be executed, and so radical were his measures that thereafter they occupied an insignificant position in political matters. Herod also secured his dynasty by removing from his path all the members of the Hasmonæan family. He rebuilt the temple at Jerusalem, conducted extensive building operations in many parts of his kingdom, and was ever solicitous for the welfare of the country under his rule. But though a wise and capable ruler, Herod never gained the good will of his people, and only maintained himself through the power of Rome. His Jewish subjects could never forget his Idumæan descent, and his overthrow of the Hasmonæan dynasty, upon whom their affections were centered. Herod died in the year 4 B. C., leaving a number of sons by his numerous marriages, and disputes arose over his inheritance. These, however, were checked by Augustus, who substantially confirmed the dead king's will, and the territories over which he had ruled were divided among three of his sons. The principal heir, Archelaus, received Idumæa, Judæa, and Samaria, with the title of ethnarch; Antipas was made tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa; and Philip became tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. So cruel and tyrannical, however, was the conduct of Archelaus toward his subjects that, on their petition, Augustus deposed him in 6 A. D., and banished him to Vienne in Gaul. His territory was joined to the province of Syria, but was placed under the special control of a Roman procurator, who was responsible for the imperial taxes, commanded the military forces, and exercised judicial functions. The Jews were required to take an oath of allegiance, and an offering was made for the emperor twice daily in the temple, but the Jewish cult stood under the protection of the Roman state and the temple was not desecrated by the payment of divine honors to the deified emperor. It is true that, in 40 A. D., the

Emperor Caius Caligula issued an order that his image should be set up in the temple, but the execution of this order was delayed by the Syrian governor, P. Petronius, and Caligula died the following year. The procurators resided at Cesaræa, and their military headquarters and garrisons were distributed throughout the country. It was under the procurator Pontius Pilate (26-36 A. D.), subsequently removed for cruelty, that the crucifixion of Jesus Christ [1] took place. In 41 A. D. the Emperor Claudius gave to Agrippa, whose father, Aristobulus, was the son of Herod by the Hasmonæan princess, Mariamne, the territories formerly held by his uncle, Archelaus, with the title of king, and for a short time Agrippa ruled over all the dominions of his grandfather; but on his death in 44 A. D. his son was not allowed to succeed him, and the rule of the procurators was restored. The arbitrary and oppressive rule of these officers exasperated the people to the utmost, the moderate counsels of the older political parties were without avail, and the Zealots, a new party advocating extreme measures, gained a predominant influence. The misgovernment of the procurator Antonius Felix (52-60) increased at once the hatred against Rome and the popularity of the Zealots and, though the able Porcius Festus (60-62) endeavored to stem the tide, the oppression of the last two procurators, Albinus (62-64) and Gessius Florus (64-66), brought matters to a crisis. Florus, having robbed the temple treasury, was satirized by the Jews, and in revenge gave over a portion of Jerusalem to pillage and crucified a number of the inhabitants. A tumult broke out, in the course of which the procurator was forced to withdraw from the city, leaving only a cohort in the temple fortress, Antonia. At the same time the fortress of Masada on the Dead Sea was captured by the Jews, and in Jerusalem the daily sacrifice for the emperor was discontinued. The more moderate party still made efforts for peace, and at their request Agrippa II., who had in 53 been made king over the dominions of his great-uncle, Philip, sent a body of troops to Jerusalem, but they were forced to retire, and the garrison of Antonia was massacred. The Syrian governor, Cestius Gallus, was next repulsed, and near Bethhoron suffered severe losses. War was now inevitable, popular enthusiasm rose, and the revolt spread through the surrounding country. The Emperor Nero charged his general, Vespasian, with the conduct of the war,

[1] It is unnecessary to relate here the familiar incidents of the life of Jesus, which everyone may read for himself in the Bible.

and in 67 A. D. operations were begun in Galilee. The Jews were not strong enough to risk a pitched battle, and the fortresses in their possession were successively attacked. Jotapata fell after a siege of forty-seven days, and the historian Josephus, the leader of the revolt in Galilee, was captured. Tiberias and Tarichæa surrendered, Gaumala was carried by storm, and soon all Galilee was subdued. The Zealot leader, John of Giscala, escaped to Jerusalem, and there endeavored to overthrow the aristocratic party in control of the government, accusing them of supineness and treachery. A struggle ensued, and the Zealots were forced to take refuge in the temple, but, calling to their aid an Idumæan army, they triumphed over the friends of law and order and gained control of the city. The high priest Ananos and many of the most respectable citizens were put to death, and John of Giscala tyrannized over the inhabitants. In June, 68, Vespasian, while preparing to move against Jerusalem, received news of the Emperor Nero's death, and the war was suspended for a while. Meanwhile the guerrilla chief, Simon ben Giora, ravaged the territory not occupied by the Romans, and, being invited to Jerusalem by the citizens, entered the city and forced John of Giscala once more to take refuge in the temple. When Vespasian became emperor he intrusted the reduction of Jerusalem to his son Titus, and in April, 70, the latter laid siege to the city. Titus pushed the attack with vigor, but even after he was master of the lower city, the upper city and the temple were defended with desperate valor, and the liberal terms offered by the Roman general were curtly rejected. The city was now surrounded by a strong wall, and all hope of escape was thus cut off; but the beleaguered garrison fought with undiminished resolution. Pestilence and famine prevailed in the devoted city, and on July 15 the daily offering was suspended. Titus again summoned the defenders to surrender and save their temple, and again his offer was rejected. In August the Romans gained the outer court of the temple, and while they were endeavoring to force their way into the inner enclosure a firebrand cast by a legionary set fire to the outbuildings of the structure. The flames spread rapidly, and soon the whole temple was in a blaze. Titus gave orders to extinguish the fire, but it was already beyond control, and the building was utterly destroyed. John of Giscala, with a portion of the Zealots, made his escape to the upper city, which was now in the last extremity of famine. Here the defenders, refusing all terms, made

their last stand, but, worn out with fatigue and privation, they could make but a feeble resistance, and early in September this portion of the city was sacked and burned by the assailants. The inhabitants were massacred without mercy, and those who survived the slaughter were sold into slavery. The city and temple were razed to the ground and a legion encamped upon the site. John of Giscala and Simon ben Giora, together with seven hundred other prisoners and the sacred vessels of the temple, were taken to Rome to grace the triumph of Titus.

Three fortresses still remained in the hands of the Jews, Herodeum, southwest of Bethlehem, Masada, on the Dead Sea, and Machærus, in the southern part of Peræa, and Lucilius Bassus. with the tenth legion, undertook their reduction. Herodeum readily yielded, and Machærus capitulated upon favorable terms, the garrison being permitted to march forth, but Masada offered an obstinate resistance. When the Roman troops under L. Flavius Silva, the successor of Bassus, effected a breach in the wall, they found that the besieged had constructed an inner wall of beams of wood and earth, and this was set on fire. The garrison, cut off from all hope, slew themselves rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, and when the Romans entered the city, April 15, 73, they found only the dead bodies of their opponents.

After the final crushing of the rebellion, the Pharisees gathered the scattered remnant of the faithful in Judæa, and established themselves at Jamnia. Here they formed a synedrium of seventy-two members, under the presidency of Rabbi Johannan ben Sacchai, for the regulation of the civil affairs of the Palestinian Jews in accordance with the law of Moses. The reputation of this body spread throughout the empire, and its president, who bore the title of *nasi,* or prince, was regarded as the head of all the Jewish communities. His position was recognized by the Roman Government, and under this system the Palestinian Jews continued to form a sort of state within a state down to the fifth century. The non-Palestinian Jews made voluntary contributions to the support of the *nasi.* The members of the synedrium, which was later removed to Galilee, and finally to Tiberias, devoted themselves to the study and interpretation of the law, and their activity in this field gave rise to a copious religious literature. The hostility to Rome still smoldered, and when the Emperor Trajan was engaged against the Parthians in the East, there were Jewish outbreaks in Egypt,

in Cyprus, and even in Mesopotamia, the last being so serious as to threaten to cut off his retreat from Ctesiphon. Two decrees of the Emperor Hadrian brought about the last revolt of the Jews in Judæa. Circumcision, which was repugnant to the Romans, was forbidden, and the order was given to rebuild Jerusalem as the seat of a Roman colony. The first order was regarded by the Jews in the light of religious persecution, while in the second they saw a blow to their Messianic hope of the final restoration of their holy city to the chosen people. The trouble began in 132, when the Jews, under the leadership of Simon ben Kochba, took possession of a number of fortified places and endeavored, following the tactics of Judas Maccabæus, to bring the land under their control. The war lasted until the year 135, and ended with the capture of Bether, the last Jewish stronghold, after a gallant resistance. Simon lost his life, and large numbers of the Jews were sold into slavery. After the war Jerusalem received the name of Aelia Capitolina, and received the rights of a Roman colony. The city was rebuilt, and upon the site of the old sanctuary a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was erected, with an equestrian statue of the Emperor Hadrian.

Chapter III

A SCATTERED NATION

LONG before the loss of their national existence the Jews had spread through most parts of the Roman Empire. Many of the exiles remained in Babylonia, where they prospered greatly and now counted many flourishing communities. From the time of the earlier Ptolemies large numbers of Jews had settled in Egypt, and there they formed no inconsiderable element of the population, especially at Alexandria. They had established themselves in Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and Asia Minor, and they had found their way to Greece, Italy, and the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. Wherever they went they exhibited the vitality of the race and its remarkable adaptability to new environments. After the fall of Bether the activity of the Palestinian schools continued with unabated vigor, and about 200 A. D. Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasi, the seventh president of the synedrium, compiled the great storehouse of Jewish traditional law known as the Mishnah. To this was later added the Gemara, a supplement to and commentary on the Mishnah, including many popular legends, and the union of Mishnah and Gemara formed the Talmud. The last *nasi,* or president, of the synedrium was Rabbi Gamaliel, the sixth of the name, who died in 425. Under the rule of the Christian emperors the Palestinian schools were gradually closed, and Babylonia became the literary center of Judaism. For the most part kindly treated by their Parthian, and later by their Persian, rulers, the Eastern Jews fared far better than their brethren in Judæa. Under a leader of their own race, known as the exilarch or prince of the captivity, who maintained a state befitting his office, they were allowed practical autonomy so far as their internal affairs were concerned, and they rapidly increased in numbers, in wealth, and in political importance. In not a few cities of Babylonia the entire population was composed of Jews. They had famous schools at Sura and Pumbaditha, and they displayed great literary activity. The compilation of the Babylonian Talmud, the most important

product of these schools, and a work of much greater completeness and authority than the Palestinian Talmud, was completed about 500 A. D. The influence exercised by this work upon the Judaism of later generations would be difficult to overestimate. In the fifth and sixth centuries Jewish persecutions occurred, and in 530 their schools were closed, but they sided with the Persians in their war with the Byzantine Empire, and Chosroes II. (590-628) reëstablished the exilarchate, allowed the reopening of the schools, and in 614 put the Jews in possession of Jerusalem. They were, however, not able to hold out against the Emperor Heraclius.

After their war with Rome many Jews took refuge in southern Arabia, where they gradually rose to power and, combining with the Himyarites, established a kingdom, which was overthrown in 525 by an invasion of the Christian Abyssinians. Joseph Dhu Nuwas, the last king of this state, is the subject of many legends. The rise of Islam brought with it a considerable change in the condition of the Eastern Jews. Mohammed, at first favorably inclined toward them, was enraged at the obstinacy with which they refused to accept his teaching, and during his lifetime they were subjected to cruel oppression. But they always felt a greater sympathy for Islam than for Christianity, and the tolerant rule of the caliphs was for them a period of peace and prosperity. In Babylonia the exilarchs, who had been shorn of much of their authority by the later Persian kings, became once more the recognized political heads of their people, whom they ruled as viceroys of the caliphs. The activity of the schools received a new impetus. Talmudic studies were carried on with energy, and science and letters were successfully cultivated. Questions of religious and legal import were decided by the heads of these schools, who bore the title of *gaon,* or " excellence," and the decisions of the *gaonim* in such matters were sought by Jewish communities and individuals throughout the world. One of the most famous of the gaonim was Rabbi Saadia ben Joseph (892-942), a native of the Fayum in Egypt, the founder of Jewish philosophy and the translator of the Scriptures into Arabic, the vernacular of the Eastern Jews. The last gaon, Hai, died in 1038, and the exilarchate came to an end some two years later. About the middle of the eighth century the sect of the Karaites was founded by Anan ben David, a Babylonian Jew. The movement was a protest against the complicated traditional law embodied in the Talmud, the Karaites

rejecting all tradition and commentary, and accepting the letter of Scripture alone. For some time after its foundation the sect made considerable progress, but gradually declined, and at the present day its few adherents are chiefly to be found in the Crimea. It is worthy of note that this district is associated with a remarkable episode in the history of the Jews, occurring almost simultaneously with the commencement of the Karaite movement. In 721 a number of Jews fleeing from the persecution of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, who sought to impose Christianity upon them, settled in the Crimea, then occupied by the heathen tribe of the Khazars. Ten years later the prince of the Khazars, together with the greater part of his people, was converted to Judaism, and this continued to be the state religion until, in the year 1016, the country was conquered by the Byzantine emperor in alliance with the Russians. David, the last prince of the Khazars of the Jewish faith, took refuge with his coreligionists in Spain, and his people were forced to accept Christianity.

In the meantime the condition of the European Jews had steadily deteriorated, especially under the Christian emperors. In 315 Constantine made conversion from Christianity to Judaism a penal offense, and many harsh and oppressive measures were directed against the Jewish subjects of the empire. Constantius added to the severity of these laws and forbade marriage between Jews and Christians, under penalty of death. Some alleviation came under Julian (360-363), who revoked all the oppressive enactments and even gave the Jews permission to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, but Julian died after a reign of only three years, and his successors reverted to the former policy of oppression. In consequence of the severity with which they were treated, many Jews migrated from eastern Europe to Mesopotamia and Babylonia. In Spain the Jews seem to have gained a foothold at an early date, and from the time of Hadrian they had established numerous colonies in the land, where they lived in peace and security until the conversion of the Arian Visigoths to orthodoxy. This event was the signal for Jewish persecution, and under King Sisebut (612-621) ninety thousand of them received compulsory baptism, the property of obstinate recusants was confiscated, and they were subjected to most oppressive regulations. Under these circumstances the Spanish Jews hailed the Moorish invasion with delight, and it is probable that they contributed not a little to its success.

Under the rule of the Moors a new period of prosperity dawned upon the country, and the Jews had an ample share in its benefits. The persecuting enactments of the Christian rulers were swept away, and industry and commerce were encouraged and protected. The trades and professions, especially medicine, were largely in the hands of Jews, and they cultivated literature and science with distinguished success. Many Jews became rich, the social restrictions operating against them were broken down, and not a few of the race rose to eminence in the service of the state. At Cordova, the Caliph Abd-er-Rahman III. (961-976) had a Jewish vizier, Hasdai ben Isaac (915-970), a statesman of great ability and a skillful diplomat, while about a century later Samuel ha-Nagid (993-1055) was minister of state at the court of Granada and was succeeded in his office by his son, Joseph. The haughty and imprudent conduct of the latter gained him the ill will of the people, and brought about a popular uprising, in which Joseph was slain and a general massacre of the Jews of Granada took place. In the meantime the breaking up of the Spanish caliphate into a number of independent kingdoms lent decided strength to the cause of the Christians, who had for centuries been making a gallant fight for the recovery of their lost dominion. Ferdinand I. (1037-1065) united Leon and Castile under his rule, and his son, Alfonso VI., took Toledo from the Moors and made it his capital. Under these princes and their immediate successors their Jewish subjects had no cause for complaint; the first great blow came from the Mohammedan side. The fanatic Almohades made themselves masters of a large portion of southern Spain, and it was not long before the Jews under their rule were forced to choose between Islam and exile. The synagogues were destroyed, the schools were closed, and large numbers of Jews sought refuge in the dominions of the Christian king, Alfonso VII., of Castile (1123-1157). Here they found a kind reception, and for a long time remained undisturbed. Even during the crusades, when Jewish persecutions prevailed in other parts of Europe, they were protected by the Spanish sovereigns. Among those driven into exile by oppression of the Almohades was Moses ben Maimon (1135-1204), or Maimonides, as he is usually called, the greatest Jew of the Middle Ages. His family at first removed to Fez, and finally settled at Fostat in Egypt, where, supporting himself by the practice of medicine and acting at the same time as rabbi of Cairo, he composed his works. His fame rests mainly

upon two, the "Strong Hand" and the "Guide of the Perplexed," the former a clearly worded and arranged summary of the rabbinical law, the latter a study of religion in the light of reason and philosophy. These great works have had a marked influence both upon Jewish and Christian thought in subsequent time. The security of the Spanish Jews was gradually undermined by envy of their wealth and by the religious zeal of the Christians. Outbreaks against the Jews occurred from time to time, degrading restrictions were placed upon them, and in 1391 the spirit of persecution culminated in a fearful massacre, extending through Castile, Aragon, and Navarre. In the face of these persecutions many Jews submitted to baptism, though the greater number of these forcible converts, while outwardly conforming to the religion of their tyrants, adhered in secret to Judaism. Many fled to Africa, and those who remained had to endure cruel sufferings. The condition of the newly Christianized Jews, known as Maranos, was not greatly better. The sincerity of their conversion was justly suspected, and after 1480 they were constantly under the baneful supervision of the Inquisition. After another century of grinding tyranny and cruel oppression, in 1492 the Jews, to the number of three hundred thousand, were by formal edict expelled from Spain, and were not even given time to realize on their property. Some of the exiles made a temporary stay in Portugal, the remainder scattered in all directions, to Turkey, Africa, and Italy. Nearly all left Spain in a destitute condition, and they suffered terrible hardships.

In Italy, whither many of the exiles betook themselves, the situation of the Jews had long been a favorable one. Though they had at times to pay heavy exactions to their rulers, they were subjected to little active persecution, and they throve accordingly. Many of them acquired wealth in commerce, and Jewish physicians stood in high repute. They were specially numerous at Bari, Otranto, and Lucca, and in all these places the study of the Talmud was diligently carried on. At the beginning of the sixteenth century flourishing Jewish communities were to be found in all the larger Italian cities. It is true that the Jews were restricted to a particular quarter of the town in Venice, and under the rule of Charles VIII. of France (1494-1496) they were banished from Pisa and Naples, but these were exceptions to the general rule of toleration. In the fierce struggles that prevailed during the progress

of the Protestant Reformation, however, the Italian Jews suffered greatly. At first those Maranos, or New Christians, who had fled to Italy from Spain, were mercilessly persecuted as recalcitrant heretics, but the persecution soon extended to all Jews alike, and many who refused to recant were publicly burned. Their books were everywhere sought for and destroyed, their property was confiscated, and large numbers of them were banished from the country.

In France the Jews were protected by the Carlovingian kings, so that in spite of occasional oppressions their condition was prosperous, and flourishing Jewish communities grew up at Paris, Orleans, Lyons, Narbonne, Toulouse, and other places. From the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, however, and particularly during the outbursts of religious enthusiasm called forth by the crusades, they were barbarously treated. In 1096 many French Jews were butchered by the populace, and in the reign of Louis VII. (1137-1180) their homes were pillaged in Sully, Rameru, and other towns. Philip Augustus (1180-1223) forced them to resign all mortgages held against Christians, and banished them from his dominions, but recalled them later, when he needed their financial aid. During the crusade against the Albigenses (1209) the Jews suffered severely, and in 1244 their books were publicly burned at Paris. In 1306 they were plundered of their wealth and banished the realm, but were allowed to return ten years later on payment of large sums of money. In 1321 a popular uprising was caused by the report that the Jews had poisoned the wells, and large numbers of them were slaughtered. From this time they were alternately butchered and banished at intervals until the reign of Charles V. (1364-1380), who took them under his protection and afforded them temporary security, but under his successor, Charles VI. (1380-1424), the persecutions broke out anew, and in 1394 they were formally banished from France. The exiles took refuge in Germany, Poland, and Italy.

In England a few Jewish families were to be found as early as 740, but their first real settlement was made in the time of William the Conqueror (1066-1087), who granted them effectual protection. The same policy was followed by his immediate successors, and for more than a century the English Jews lived in security, many of them acquiring opulent fortunes. It was not until the accession of Richard I. (1189-1199) that persecution finally broke out against them. At his coronation there was a popular outbreak at

London, in which many Jews were slain, their houses burned, and their goods plundered. Richard punished the ringleaders of the mob and took measures to prevent the recurrence of such excesses, but hardly had he left England on his way to Palestine when similar riots broke out in Norwich, Edmundsbury, Stamford, and York, and the same scenes of bloodshed and pillage were enacted. King John (1199-1216) alternately protected and oppressed the Jews, and in 1230, under the reign of Henry III. (1216-1272), they were accused of clipping the coin of the realm and were mulcted one-third of all their personal property as a fine. So harshly were they treated that, in 1253, they begged permission to leave the kingdom, but their request was refused, and in 1264 no less than fifteen hundred Jews fell victims to the fury of the populace. Finally in 1290, after much further persecution, the Jews to the number of sixteen thousand were expelled from England, and most of them took refuge in Germany.

In the latter country the Jews make their appearance at a very early date. In the eighth century they were to be found in all the towns along the Rhine, and by the twelfth century they had spread through all the German states. They were regarded as the peculiar property of the emperor, who derived from them a considerable revenue as the price of his protection. This protection, however, was not always effective, and, while there was never any wholesale banishment of the Jews from Germany, they were often cruelly oppressed, and their condition did not greatly differ from that of their brethren in other lands. In many cities they were compelled to reside in special quarters, everywhere they were excluded from the service of the state in either a civil or a military capacity, and, as the guilds of handicraftsmen refused to admit Jewish members, trade became their sole resource. From time to time they were robbed of their wealth upon various pretexts, and occasionally the popular fanaticism culminated in bloody massacres. There is hardly a city in Germany but could add its quota to the tale of cruelty and oppression.

In Poland, where Jewish settlements existed in the time of Charlemagne, the Jews were kindly treated and suffered from no oppressive restrictions. Standing under the immediate jurisdiction of the reigning sovereign, they formed a kind of middle class between the nobles and the serfs, and acquired a practical monopoly of industry and commerce. Special privileges were granted them,

and they had their own tribunals in which their causes were decided in accordance with the principles of rabbinical law. Under these circumstances they flourished greatly, and their numbers were largely increased, at intervals, by the accession of refugees from the persecutions prevailing in other lands. It was only in the seventeenth century that this state of affairs was rudely disturbed. In 1648 the Cossacks revolted, and the Jews, who had earned their hatred as farmers of the taxes among them, had to bear the burden of their revenge. In the ten years from 1648 to 1658 no less than six hundred thousand Jews are said to have perished in Poland, thousands were sold as slaves in Turkey, and those who escaped with life and liberty emigrated in large numbers to Austria, Germany, and Holland.

The attitude of Turkey toward the Jews was in marked contrast to that of the Christian natives. Although they had sometimes to suffer from the arbitrary rule of the sultan and the exactions of officials, the Jews enjoyed the full protection of the existing laws, and their condition was no worse than that of the other subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Large numbers of Jewish exiles fled thither from other lands and found there peace, security, and prosperity. In 1665 a Jew of Smyrna, named Sabbatai Levi (1626-1676), proclaimed himself the Messiah destined to end the exile of the Jews and lead them back to Judæa. He aroused great enthusiasm and had many followers, but, being arrested and threatened with death, he disclaimed his pretensions and became a convert to Islam.

Throughout the long night of the Middle Ages the dispersed Jews had clung to their faith with heroic fidelity, and the wonderful vitality of the race had enabled them to endure the storms of persecution that at times threatened to engulf them. At length the dawn came. After the expulsion of the Spaniards, Holland offered a safe asylum, and thither came numbers of the oppressed Maranos of Portugal and Spain, and, throwing off the disguise of Christianity, which they had been forced to wear, openly reverted to Judaism. In 1610 the Portuguese community at Amsterdam numbered four hundred families, and besides these many Polish and German Jews settled in Holland, where their race enjoyed every civil right save only eligibility to office in the state. About the same time important Jewish colonies settled at Hamburg and Copenhagen. In 1655, at the intercession of the distinguished scholar, Manasseh

ben Israel of Amsterdam, Oliver Cromwell gave tacit permission to the Jews to return to England, although the old edict of banishment was not formally revoked. After the restoration of the Stuarts they came in constantly increasing numbers from Holland, Germany, and Poland, and in 1753 an act of Parliament was passed authorizing their naturalization, but so strong was the popular feeling against the measure that it was repealed the following year. It was not until 1833 that a bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities was finally passed by the Commons, and it was repeatedly rejected by the Lords before it became a law. Even then a difficulty arose over the form of oath to be taken by Jewish members of Parliament. Sir Lionel de Rothschild was elected for the city of London in 1847, and Sir David Salomons for Greenwich in 1851, but both were disqualified on this technicality. Finally in 1858 Baron de Rothschild was admitted to take a special form of oath, with the distinctively Christian clauses omitted; in 1860 this concession was made a standing order of the House, and in 1866 a new form of oath was adopted which could be taken by Jew or Christian alike. By this measure the last restriction against the participation of the Jews in public affairs was finally removed.

In France, where many Jews continued to reside, in spite of the edict of expulsion issued in 1394, their condition became more tolerable as the spirit of persecution died out, and after a time their gradual return to the country was tacitly permitted by the authorities. In 1542 Henry II. allowed the settlement of fugitive Maranos from Portugal at Bordeaux and Bayonne, and although Louis XIII., in 1615, forbade his subjects to hold converse with the Jews, no effort was made to expel them from the country. In the middle of the eighteenth century a settlement of about five hundred existed at Paris, and communities had become established in many parts of France. In 1784 a royal order was issued authorizing Jews to live in any part of the French dominions, and seven years later (1791) they were accorded full civil rights. It was not long before, through the influence of the French Government, they secured the same privileges in Italy, Switzerland, and other countries.

In Germany the Reformation brought little change for the better in the condition of the Jews. There were no more massacres, but they were still under the ban of cruelly oppressive laws, while the popular hatred against them still smoldered, and at times

broke out into overt acts. In 1614 they were plundered and driven out of Frankfort by a mob, and the following year they were expelled from Worms under circumstances of great barbarity, the mob tearing down their synagogues and desecrating their cemetery. It is to the credit of the reigning emperor that, in 1616, he severely punished the ringleaders of the rioters, and restored the Jews of both cities to their former habitations. In 1671 a number of Jews who had been driven out of Vienna were allowed to settle in Brandenburg, and the Elector Frederick William (1640-1688), while he did not remove their disabilities, extended effectual protection to his Jewish subjects. His successors, the kings of Prussia, followed the same policy, and in 1750 Frederick the Great (1740-1788) defined the privileges of the Jews by royal edict, and thus gave them an assured status before the law. A more tolerant spirit now set in, and this feeling was strongly promoted by the great Jewish scholar, Moses Mendelssohn (1728-1786), the friend of Lessing and the translator of the Pentateuch into German, who lent his best efforts to bring about a better understanding between Jews and Christians. In 1787 several oppressive regulations were repealed, and in 1812 all the Jews of Prussia were granted full civil rights. The Jews of Frankfort had acquired the same rights the year before, and in nearly all the German states Jews and Christians were placed upon an equal footing before the law. At the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 a reaction occurred, the liberties of the Jews were once more greatly abridged, and in 1819 the Jews of Frankfort, Heidelberg, and other towns were attacked and pillaged by mobs. But with the characteristic perseverance of their race they maintained the struggle for their rights with such success that in 1848 several Jews were members of the German parliament which met at Frankfort, and one of them was its vice-president. The reign of King William I. of Prussia, later emperor of Germany, marked a new era in the history of the German Jews, and after the wars of 1866 and 1870, in which their patriotism was abundantly displayed, the last restrictions against them were swept away.

The year 1492, in which the Jews were expelled from Spain, is memorable for the discovery of America, but for a long time the shores of the New World offered little inducement to colonists of the persecuted race. In the Spanish and Portuguese possessions the state of affairs was no better than at home, and the coloniza-

tion of North America by other European nations did not begin until more than a century later. About 1548 a number of Portuguese Maranos were banished to Brazil, and subsequently many others were similarly deported thither. While the Inquisition was never formally established in Brazil, its agents there exercised constant surveillance over the exiles, and not a few of them were sent back to Europe to appear before the Holy Office, especially after 1580, when Portugal came under the dominion of Spain. In spite of the difficulties with which their path was plentifully beset, the Brazilian Maranos flourished, many of them acquiring considerable wealth, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century they were very numerous. As at home, they secretly adhered to Judaism, though forced to wear the outward semblance of Christianity. They lent valuable aid to the Dutch, whose success offered them the prospect of a release from oppression, and in 1624, when Brazil came under the dominion of Holland, most of them threw off the mask and openly professed the faith they had cherished so long in private. In 1642 a colony of six hundred Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam came to Brazil, but most of them returned to Holland when the Portuguese rule was reëstablished twelve years later. At the capitulation of Recife (Pernambuca) the Jewish inhabitants numbered about five thousand. Some of these went to Surinam, others to Curaçao, others again to Guadaloupe, Martinique, and other islands of the West Indies, while a few found their way to North America. A certain proportion, however, remained, and their numbers were greatly increased, between 1682 and 1707, by the transportation to Brazil of Maranos from Portugal. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Jews were again numerous in Brazil, where they finally secured practical, if not official, toleration, and from this time their history is uneventful.

On the withdrawal of the Dutch from Brazil a small colony of Brazilian Jews removed to New Amsterdam, in North America, but were not very cordially received by the governor, Peter Stuyvesant, who would not allow them to hold land, to serve in the burgher guard, or to trade with the Indians. These restrictions were, however, soon removed by order of the Dutch Government, and in 1656 the refugees acquired a burial ground. In 1664 New Amsterdam came into the possession of the British, who changed its name to New York, and in 1682 the Jewish congregation rented a house there, to be used as a place of worship. It was not until

1729 that they possessed a regular synagogue. As in England, their political rights were restricted, and as late as 1737 the New York Assembly decided that no Jew should vote as a member of its body. During the Revolution, when New York was in the hands of the British, a number of Jews led by Rabbi Gershom Mendes Seixas removed thence to Philadelphia. In consequence of the unfriendly attitude of Governor Stuyvesant, some of the New Amsterdam colony removed to Newport, attracted by the liberality of Rhode Island in matters of religion. The immigrants were cordially received, and, in 1677, were sufficiently numerous to acquire a cemetery of their own. The Newport colony enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, and about 1750 their numbers were increased by the arrival of Jewish immigrants from Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. Just before the Revolution the community at Newport numbered about eleven hundred members. Only a small proportion of the early Jewish settlers went to the other New England States, though Judge Samuel Sewall mentioned a Jewish burial ground near Boston, and quotes an epitaph bearing the date 1684. From 1722 to 1764 Judah Morris, a convert to Christianity, was professor of Hebrew at Harvard.

In Maryland, while the act of religious toleration passed in 1649 applied only to Trinitarian Christians, the few Jews who settled there were not molested in the exercise of their religion and enjoyed full civil rights from the first, except that they were ineligible for office. In 1658 Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo, a native of Lisbon, imprudently allowed himself to be drawn into a religious dispute, and was accused before the council of uttering blasphemous words concerning the Founder of Christianity. This was a statutory offense, and he was held for trial, but was included in the general amnesty proclaimed on the accession of Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector, and the proceedings against him were dropped. In 1663 Lumbrozo obtained letters of denization, and in 1664 he sat on a jury of the Provincial Court. In the latter year he obtained a license to trade with the Indians, and he died in 1665. During the colonial period there were few Jews in Maryland, and it was not until after the Revolution that they became numerous. For a long time Maryland, alone of all States, denied them the right to hold office. Efforts for the removal of this disability were made in 1801 and in 1804 without success, and they were renewed in 1819. After a hard struggle a bill was finally passed by the

legislature, in 1824, making Jews eligible to office, and the same year Solomon Etting and Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., to whose exertions the success of the measure was largely due, were elected members of the city council of Baltimore.

A few Jews seem to have settled in Pennsylvania at quite an early date, but the largest proportion of the Jewish settlers there came from Germany somewhat later and established themselves at Shaefersville and Lancaster. In Philadelphia there was a congregation as early as 1747, but they had no synagogue till much later. The Philadelphia community was reinforced by additions from Newport, New York, Lancaster, Savannah, and Charleston, and was one of the most important in the American colonies.

Although scattered members of the race were in Virginia as early as 1658, they do not seem to have been numerous there, and it was not till 1791 that a congregation was formed in the city of Richmond. Farther south they were much more numerous. In 1733 a colony of forty settled at Savannah, where they were hospitably received, and, augmented by new accessions, they possessed a synagogue before 1742. In the latter year a portion of the Savannah community removed to Charleston, where they formed a congregation in 1750. This congregation was incorporated in 1791, and then numbered fifty-one families, or about four hundred individuals.

During the Revolution the Jews, with few exceptions, adhered to the patriotic side and rendered valuable service to the cause of American independence. Many Jewish soldiers served in the American armies, while other American Jews, like Haym Salomon of Philadelphia, gave freely of their own means and, using their credit abroad, negotiated important loans on behalf of Congress. At the conclusion of the war the Jews possessed full political rights in every State, except Maryland, and there the last remaining barrier was removed in 1824. Before the Revolution most of the Jewish settlers in the American colonies, with the single exception of Pennsylvania, were of Portuguese descent, but the dismemberment of Poland, in 1772, and the Napoleonic wars gave a new impetus to emigration, and from this time the great majority of the newcomers were from Poland and Germany. During the nineteenth century the tide of Jewish immigration to America ran strongly, reaching its height about 1850, and declining somewhat after that date, but always flowing in a steady stream. Since 1882 large num-

bers of Russian Jews have come to America, seeking refuge from persecution at home. At the present day every State in the Union numbers a large proportion of Jewish citizens, and they form a most valuable element of the population. In the industries, commerce, and finance they have been eminently successful; they have obtained distinction in the learned professions, in science, in art, and in literature; and they have held honorable positions in the service of the country, both in civil and in military capacities. In America, hampered by no invidious restrictions, they have been able to give free scope to their energies, and they have prospered to a remarkable degree.

MODERN HISTORY
OF ANCIENT LANDS

Chapter I

EGYPT. 1904-1928

BY the Anglo-French Agreement, signed April 4, 1904, and expected to be binding till 1934, France had formally recognized the British-Egyptian status quo and declared that she would not at any time obstruct the action of Great Britain nor ask for a time limit to the British occupation.

Civil service was divided among Egyptians, British and other Europeans, but in the lower grades Egyptians predominated. The judicial system was improved by the establishment of an inflexible Court of Appeals, half British and half native. The British Government paid particular attention to public works and to improving the agricultural condition of the country by irrigation. Most notable were the construction of the Assuan Dam at the head of the First Cataract of the Nile, just above Assuan, and the making of the Assiut Weir. Both were opened in 1902. The need for even more water led to further construction on the Assuan Dam, which was made higher and stronger. This new work was completed in 1912, fortunately in time to prevent famine in the year 1913, when the natural overflow of the Nile was abnormally small.

The progressive movement which resulted in the overthrow of the old order in Turkey, was represented in Egypt by the demand of the "Young Egyptians" for an Egyptian House of Commons, which was not granted. At the outbreak of the European War, conditions in Egypt caused some anxiety to the British, for the Nationalist Party, long quiescent, began openly to preach sedition. The early German successes helped to fan the flame, and the end of the British Empire was freely predicted.

When Turkey entered the war, it became vitally necessary to prepare for the defense of the Suez Canal, "the jugular vein of the British Empire," as the Kaiser had aptly termed the water-way.

General Sir John Maxwell, commanding the forces in Egypt, took the canal defenses in hand in November, 1914, although a strong military element believed that no serious attempt to reach the Canal would be made, because of the difficulties in moving an

army over the desert. British engineers, by cutting the Canal bank at points where the desert was below the sea level and flooding the ground beyond, created a water defense for eighteen or twenty miles along the Canal, reducing the front to sixty or seventy miles. Defense posts were built and entrenched on the east bank to cover certain ferries; the main defenses on the west bank were trenches from which attempts of the Turks to cross could be repelled effectively.

The Khedive of Egypt having fled to Constantinople, where he threw in his lot with the Turks, Great Britain proclaimed Egypt a British protectorate. The title of Khedive was abolished, and Hussein Kamil Pasha, eldest living Prince of the house of Mahomet Ali, was raised to the throne with the title of Sultan. He made his state entry into the capital on December 20 and occupied the Abdin Palace in Cairo.

Early in January, 1915, the Turks established advanced posts on the Egyptian frontier and at El Arish within. Accounts reached the British commander of the Egyptian forces that Germans disguised as Bedouins accompanied Arabs on reconnaissances, and in the middle of the month authentic information was received that a considerable force of the enemy was already in Sinai and was preparing for a move westward.

The Canal zone was reinforced by New Zealand and Australian battalions, and four war vessels took up positions in the stream proper. Two French warships also had a part in the defense.

In the last days of January, 1915, the Turks, commanded by Djemal Pasha, assisted by a German officer, Major von der Hagen, got within a few miles of the Canal at several points, and skirmishes with Egyptian troops ensued.

In the morning of February 3, the Turks made feints of attacking El Kantara, the Ismailia Ferry Post and El Ferdan, but their main attack was launched between Toussoum and Serapeum, south of Lake Timsah. Three attempts were made to force the Canal. The Turks brought with them light steel pontoons, which they carried through a ravine and launched on the Canal. Meanwhile, Turkish infantry left and right of the gully poured a heavy rifle and machine-gun fire to cover the crossing. A force of Indian troops under Major Skeen, on the west bank, sank all but two of the Turkish boats and those that reached the shore surrendered or their occupants were slain. A Turkish attack on the Toussoum post

was repulsed by Rajputs and Gurkhas and driven from the east bank with heavy losses, while hundreds were made prisoners.

A torpedo-boat in the Canal destroyed by shell fire all the pontoons on the west bank. This accomplished, Major Maclachlan and a contingent of Indian troops went out to clear the east bank, and, meeting a considerable body of Turks, compelled their surrender after a short skirmish. Among the dead was the German officer, Major von der Hagen.

The Turks, who numbered about 15,000 men, had been defeated, but they had fully demonstrated that it was possible to move a large body of soldiers across the Sinai Desert, and there was every reason to believe that they would return stronger in numbers and armed with knowledge and experience gained in their first attempt to seize the Suez Canal.

The heavy losses inflicted on the Turks at Serapeum and on their arduous march back to Palestine prevented another serious attack on the Canal in 1915. But though no further military operations were attempted the Turks made various efforts to place mines in the water-way and by sinking a ship to stop the traffic. Only once were they successful in planting a mine, and this injured a vessel but slightly and only interrupted the flow of shipping for half a day.

The Turkish attack had at least done good work in convincing the doubters in military circles that the Sinai Desert could be crossed by an army, and a new strategic plan was developed to secure the safety of the Canal.

A railway, roads, and pipe-lines for water supplies were rapidly pushed forward through the desert to supply the needs of the eastern defenses of Egypt.

The Battle of Romani, fought on the first day of August, was the most important engagement on Egyptian territory during the campaign. As early as July 19, the presence of a large body of the enemy within fifty miles of the Canal was signaled by airmen of the Egyptian defense. The Turks were commanded by a German, General von Kressenstein. German officers also commanded the machine-gun companies and Austrian officers the heavy guns.

On August 3, von Kressenstein took up a line from a hill east of Mehamdiya on to the high ground west of Rabah, then along the dunes which hide the palm groves of Katia, and on to the sandy ridges of Bir Hamisah.

The Egyptian army of defense held a strong position fronting the enemy. There was a well entrenched post a mile east of Mehamdiya, and defenses on the sandhills running south for three miles to the low ground at Romani. A series of strong posts was also established from the railway to Katib Gannit, a lofty sandhill.

On the eve of the battle, General Chauvel detailed a brigade of Light Horse to watch the front south and southeast of Katib Gannit, as it was believed the enemy would attempt to break through there, to rush the railway, cut off Romani from Kantara and hold off reinforcements.

At three o'clock in the morning of August 4, the Turks advanced. The Australians, outnumbered, fell back slowly to Wellington Ridge, where they received reinforcements and the Turks were held up. As a next move, the Turks swung around their left flank and got on Mount Royston, a high sand dune three miles west of Romani, where they could shell the Wellington Ridge from three directions and force the British to retire.

From the east, the Turks attacked the chain of posts running south from the sea, but were unable to advance, though their guns directed against the railhead killed officers and men of the defense.

The Turks were counter-attacked by the Egyptian Army in the afternoon; Mount Royston and Wellington Ridge were wrested from them, and thousands of prisoners were taken. This ended the Turkish main attack and General Chauvel's cavalry drove forward to cut off the retreat. The Turks had guns in prepared places along the line of their retreat and at dusk the pursuit was abandoned, for the British were exhausted after fighting through one of the hottest days of the Egyptian summer. Successive actions were fought during the next two days, the enemy falling back to his advanced base at Bir el Abd. There they were attacked while evacuating their stores. The Turkish commander brought up 6,000 fresh infantry who made violent counter-attacks through the afternoon, but were beaten back by the British gunners and cavalry. Continued pressure on the Turks forced their hurried retirement on the 12th, and they were pursued as far as Salmana. The victory of the Egyptian Army was complete. Fifty Turkish, German and Austrian officers had been captured and of the rank and file 4,000 were made prisoners. The total enemy casualties were estimated in the official report at about 9,000.

Not until the 20th of December were the British ready to strike

again at the enemy's advanced positions at El Arish. But the Turks evacuated their elaborately fortified defenses before the blow fell, and retreated on Magdhaba. General Chauvel's flying column came up with the enemy on December 23, occupying a strong position on both banks of the Wadi-el-Arish. The position was surrounded, and in a dashing bayonet charge that beat down all opposition, the defenses were won. The British captured 1,282 prisoners of all ranks, while their own losses were insignificant.

Resolved not to allow the Turks any respite, the Desert Column under Sir Philip Chetwode was despatched to attack their positions near Rafa, thirty miles northeast of El Arish. The main works were on a mound, the slopes well entrenched on all sides, and there were many cunningly hidden gun-pits that would hold two or three riflemen and a machine-gun. The defenses consisted of three lines, which contained some very strong redoubts.

Before the attack on Rafa, General Chauvel's mounted troops and camel corps and General Chaytor's New Zealanders joined in the enveloping movement about the enemy's position. Bombardment of the Turkish lines began in the afternoon, and, in the advance that followed, the New Zealanders rushed the strongest part of the northern position; then, having won it, proceeded to clear up the subsidiary trenches. Meanwhile, the Light Horse dashed forward and overwhelmed the defense in the southeastern works, while the Imperial Camel Corps gained the southwestern line in a brilliant assault. Darkness was falling when the whole Turkish garrison surrendered. Rumors of large reinforcements advancing, to the number of 4,000, decided General Chetwode to withdraw.

In January, 1917, news came that Sidi Ahmed, Grand Sheikh of the Senussi, whom the British had previously defeated and driven into Cyrenaica, was preparing to leave the Siwa Oasis and return to Jarabub, where it was evident he would rally his followers and renew the warfare.

The British commander of the Egyptian Army of Defense decided on a swift descent on Siwa to crush this movement before it was fairly started, and a column under General H. W. Hodgson was despatched to the seat of the outbreak. This was the most important operation attempted with motor cars during the war. The column left its base at Matruh and traveled two hundred miles in three days and fought and defeated a stubborn and well-fortified enemy that outnumbered it greatly. The Senussi retreated west-

ward over precipitous hills—a terrain where it was impossible to pursue them. The importance of this engagement at Siwa was the blow it dealt to the morale of the Senussi while it also discredited the Grand Sheikh, who had reason to regret that he had thrown in his lot with the Turks and Germans in 1915. From that defeat at Siwa, Sidi Ahmed remained in hiding, and his followers were no longer an important factor in the war.

In November, 1918, a deputation of Egyptian Nationalists under the leadership of Saad Zaghlul Pasha, Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, visited the British residency to advocate a program of complete autonomy for Egypt which would leave Great Britain only the right of supervision of the public debt and shipping facilities of the Suez Canal. They asked to be allowed to go to England and plead their cause with the Foreign Office. This was refused. On March 3, 1919, this delegation, which was composed of twelve Nationalists, sent a petition to the Sultan urging that the Protectorate become null. Zaghlul and three of his colleagues were arrested, March 8, and deported to Malta on the 9th. Serious disturbances of a nation-wide character followed the attempts at repression.

On March 28, General Allenby, appointed Special High Commissioner, arrived in Cairo. Zaghlul and his friends were freed and permitted to go to Paris, where they failed to secure the desired recognition from the Peace Conference. Rushdi Pasha formed a new government on April 9, but resigned on April 21. A month later, Mohammed Said Pasha became Prime Minister. A military court was instituted to try rebels.

In view of the disturbances in Egypt, the British Government sent out a commission in November, under the presidency of Lord Milner. On November 18, 1919, the following Communiqué was issued at the British residency in Cairo:

"The policy of Great Britain in Egypt is to preserve the autonomy of that country under British protection and to develop the system of self-government under an Egyptian ruler.

"The object of Great Britain is to defend Egypt from all external danger and interference by any foreign power, and at the same time to establish a constitutional system in which, under British guidance, the Sultan, his Ministers, and the elected representatives of the people may in their several spheres and in an increasing degree coöperate in the management of Egyptian affairs.

"His Majesty's Government have decided to send to Egypt a mission which has as its task to work out the details of the Constitution, to carry out this object, and, in consultation with the Sultan, his Ministers, and representative Egyptians, to undertake the preliminary work which is requisite before the future form of government can be settled.

"It is no function of the mission to impose a Constitution on Egypt. Its duty is to explore the ground and to discuss, in consultation with the authorities on the spot, the reforms that are necessary and to propose, it is hoped in complete agreement with the Sultan and his Ministers, a scheme of government which can subsequently be put into force."

A Cabinet crisis and Nationalist demonstrations which reached the dimensions of a revolution followed immediately. The Ministry resigned and another was constituted on November 26.

The Milner mission, which reached Egypt on December 7, 1919, was not favorably received. Nevertheless, it investigated and collected information on all phases of the situation in Egypt and the Sudan, completing its labors in March, 1920. Milner met Zaghlul and other delegates in London early in June, 1920, and the Milner-Zaghlul agreement was drawn up. It failed of ratification. In December, 1920, the rupture between Egypt and England was so definite that General Allenby asked for reinforcements.

In 1921, Zaghlul returned to Egypt and was again deported. Agitation continued. On February 28, 1922, a British "Declaration Concerning Egypt" was made. It announced that the British Protectorate over Egypt was ended and that Egypt would be recognized as a sovereign state, but that the British Empire must safeguard the Suez Canal and British communications in Egypt. The Empire would also oversee the defense of Egypt against foreign interference or aggression and would protect foreign interests in Egypt and the Sudan. On March 16, 1922, the Sultan proclaimed himself "King Fuad I." He had succeeded his brother, Hussein Kamil Pasha, as Sultan, on October 9, 1917.

Among the sources of disagreement between Egypt and the British Empire are those connected with Sudan. Egyptians might grant that the British Empire should control Suez Canal and its own communications, though they protest that British forces should be limited to such purposes; but the Egyptians believe, naturally enough, that not only their existence as a nation, but the very

lives of their people depend on control of the upper waters of the White Nile and the Blue Nile. They are apt to forget the extent of the British developments in their behalf and their added prosperity therefrom. Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was governed after 1899 as a condominium, or joint government of the two powers. British officials, however, held all the important offices—a British officer was Governor-General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army. Sudan provinces were headed by British military or civil officials, with Egyptian army officers as heads of districts. Vast irrigation works were planned or under construction on the White and the Blue Nile for the benefit of both the Sudan and Egypt. Nevertheless, the fact remained true that Egypt could be starved at the will of any power that held the Sudan.

On April 28, 1922, the United States recognized Egypt, on condition that the Capitulations remained in force. In June, 1922, Zaghlul was expelled again. Sudan continued a cause of controversy, cabinet crises and riots. In April, the King signed the new Constitution. It established a government with a hereditary King, a Senate, two-fifths of which should be nominated by the King and three-fifths elected by the people, and an elected Chamber of Deputies. On April 30, 1923, a law granting full manhood suffrage was signed. In September, 1923, Zaghlul was permitted to return and in January, 1924, he became the first Prime Minister under the new form of government. In September of the same year, he went to England to plead with Prime Minister Macdonald for Egyptian control of Sudan. His mission failed.

On November 19, 1924, Sir Lee Stack, Governor of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, was shot while he was riding in an automobile from the War Office to his residence. He died on the 21st. England was prompt. On the 22nd of November, an ultimatum was issued demanding the following: 1. An apology from the Egyptian Government. 2. Punishment of the criminals. 3. Suppression of political demonstrations against England. 4. An indemnity of £500,000 to be paid immediately. 5. That Egyptian officers and soldiers be withdrawn at once from the Sudan. 6. That the irrigation area at Gezira in the Sudan be increased from 300,000 acres to an indefinite figure. 7. That Egypt recognize Britain's judicial and financial control.

Zaghlul agreed to the first four, but resigned rather than attempt to reconcile the country to the other three. The indemnity

was paid, the apology made. Egyptian troops were withdrawn from the Sudan and were replaced by the new Sudan Defense Forces, responsible only to the Governor-General. An appeal was made to the League of Nations, but the League had been warned by the British Government that the matter concerned the Empire only. For two years following the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the Egyptian Constitution was largely in abeyance.

Ziwar Pasha succeeded Zaghlul. He agreed to the British demands and Parliament was dissolved so that a new Parliament might be elected likely to support Egypt in this submission. There was some fighting in the Sudan when the Egyptians were ordered to leave, but everything ended in favor of the British. The new Parliament convened on March 23, 1925. It was strongly of the Wafd (delegate or Nationalist) Party and elected Zaghlul as its President. As a result of this, Parliament was again dissolved nine hours later, with an arrangement for still another election in May.

Nine conspirators were tried and condemned for the murder of Sir Lee Stack. Although both Egypt and Britain had become disposed to be conciliatory, the British opposed the influence of Zaghlul, who was undoubtedly the people's choice for head of Government.

Lord Allenby resigned as British High Commissioner in Egypt early in 1925 and was succeeded by Sir George Lloyd. No elections were held in May, however, and the cabinet of Ziwar Pasha continued to function. When 1926 opened, the inevitable struggle was still going on between Ziwar Pasha, Prime Minister and backed by the British Government, and Zaghlul Pasha, recognized leader of the Nationalists. On January 12, 1926, Ziwar Pasha announced that elections for a new Parliament would be held as soon as possible, probably in April.

It was also in the early part of 1926 that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of New York, offered to donate to Egypt the sum of $10,000,000 for a national museum at Cairo to house the tremendous mass of archæological treasure brought to light within recent years in Egypt. The Nationalists were opposed. They claimed that the conditions attached to the gift, especially the placing of the administration of the museum in the hands of a committee of two members each from the United States, Great Britain, France and Egypt, would be detrimental to Egyptian sovereignty. On April 27, Mr. Rockefeller withdrew his munificent offer.

Elections were held in May and resulted in overwhelming victory to the Wafd Party, led by Zaghlul Pasha. He decided to form a new government with himself at the head, thus bringing on another crisis, since the British authorities were still opposed to his return to power. The British High Commissioner, George Lloyd, now Lord Lloyd, laid England's decision before King Fuad, with the result that Zaghlul was forced to give up his plan. With Zaghlul's consent, King Fuad designated Adly Yeghen Pasha to form a new cabinet, which he did on June 6. Egypt's fourth Parliament was opened on June 10, 1926, in the presence of King Fuad and Lord Lloyd. Political affairs now became reasonably quiet. The Deputies restored their salaries to $3,000 a year, which caused unfavorable comment. Sir Geoffrey Archer resigned as Governor-General of Sudan on July 17, 1926. He was succeeded by Sir John L. Maffey.

Commissions were appointed by Parliament to investigate decrees and financial measures enacted in the administration of Ziwar Pasha, for, as it was claimed that the dismissal of the two previous Parliaments had been unconstitutional, it was also declared that all laws of Ziwar Pasha's regime were void. The commissions recommended that a portion of these laws as promulgated be validated and that the balance, especially those relating to elections, be declared null and void. Parliament put these recommendations into effect on August 7. It adjourned on September 20 without having come into open strife over politics.

In October, 1926, a crisis arose due to the cotton situation. During the years 1922-1926, the Government had endeavored to maintain prices by purchasing quantities of cotton at growing season and holding it for better markets. Some of these holdings were sold at a profit, but the Government could not sell all its stock and, when urged in October to make further large purchases, refused, agreeing instead to lend money to the small farmers on their crops. It was proposed to appropriate a fund of $20,000,000 for this purpose.

Parliament reconvened on November 16, in the presence of King Fuad, Prime Minister Adly Yeghen Pasha and High Commissioner Lord Lloyd. No action was taken toward ratifying the plan for lending $20,000,000 to the cotton farmers. Zaghlul Pasha was reëlected President of the Chamber. On December 8, a law was passed limiting cotton acreage for three years to a third of every plantation. On December 15, the Chamber of Deputies voted that

the Government should again enter the market for the purchase of cotton, this decision to replace the plan for lending money on the cotton farmers' crops.

A cotton congress met late in January, 1927, which came together for the purpose of discussing methods of growing and marketing this most important Egyptian product.

On February 11, 1927, King Fuad laid the corner stone of the American University at Cairo.

In March, 1927, the result of the decennial census of February 18 was announced, according to which Egypt has a total population of 14,168,756.

Premier Adly Yeghen Pasha resigned on April 18, over a question of the budget. On account of failing health, Zaghlul Pasha refused to assume the premiership, but put forward Sarwat Pasha as an acceptable candidate for Government head. Sarwat Pasha was asked by the King to form a cabinet, which he did, assuming the post of Minister of the Interior in addition to that of Premier. A crisis in Egyptian politics occurred in June, when the Egyptian Parliament proposed to increase the Army, vesting its control in the Army Council, as opposed to the existing control of the British Sirdar. The Parliamentary Committee also decided to recommend discontinuance of the annual appropriation of $3,750,000 toward Sudan administration, in absence of information as to how this money was being spent. The British Government promptly addressed a note to the Egyptian Government stating that the Egyptian Government should put forward proposals as to how coöperation in military affairs could be effected. This note was delivered on May 30, and at the same time battleships were ordered to Alexandria and Port Said. The Egyptian Government contended that the Egyptian Army was not one of the reserve points in the Declaration of 1922 and did not, therefore, concern Great Britain. Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, in the House of Commons, declared that the Egyptian politicians wanted a strong Egyptian Army to be used as a weapon of the Nationalist Party; that Britain could not permit the task of defending the Suez Canal and protecting foreigners in Egypt to be complicated by the presence of a potentially hostile force. The Egyptian Government later proposed to retain a British Inspector-General and to model the Egyptian Army on British lines. The crisis was believed over by the middle of June, 1927. Premier Sarwat Pasha stated in the Chamber of Deputies

that an agreement had been reached to maintain the status quo in the Army and frontier administration, an arrangement probably necessary for peaceful settlement.

Apparently an agreement had also been reached by Premier Sarwat, Lord Lloyd, Zaghlul Pasha and the King that prompt measures should be taken towards a treaty between Britain and Egypt which would place the four reserved points of the Declaration of 1922 on an agreed basis. King Fuad made a visit to London early in July, 1927, leaving for Paris on July 26. The Egyptian Parliament recessed on July 14, to come together in November.

The great leader of the Nationalists, Saad Zaghlul Pasha, died suddenly on August 23, 1927, a severe blow to his countrymen, for in him the Independence movement lost its outstanding leader and strongest mainstay. He was born about 1860. In the early part of his career and down to 1913, he was not anti-British. He was forced out of the Ministry by a disagreement with Khedive Abaas concerning the administration of religious and charitable endowments. He was hurt by the failure of the British agent to support him against the Khedive, enrolled among the Nationalists and soon became their leader. He was deported to Malta on March 7, 1919, returned in 1921, and was again sent out of the country, this time to Seychelles, for propaganda, especially in Upper Egypt. Because of failing health, he was transferred to Gibraltar and later released unconditionally. The year 1924, in which Sultan Fuad assumed the title of King, saw Zaghlul again in power. The elections that followed the adoption of the new Constitution brought Zaghlul Pasha to the head of the Government and kept him there until after the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the British Sirdar of the Egyptian Army.

Mustapha Nahas Pasha, a former Vice-President of the Chamber, was elected leader of the Wafd Party to succeed Zaghlul Pasha. The Wafd Party endorsed a manifesto declaring for a continuance of Zaghlul's principles and the purpose of striving for complete independence for Egypt.

The Egyptian Parliament was opened on November 17, 1927, by Prime Minister Sarwat Pasha, who read the speech from the throne. He made sympathetic references to the death of Zaghlul Pasha and also to the King's appreciation of his reception in England on occasion of his late visits.

In December, the Government appointed a commission to make recommendations concerning reform in El Azhar University. At the

end of December, there were rumors of serious dissensions in the Egyptian Cabinet. On January 5, 1928, Premier Sarwat Pasha announced that harmony now existed within Government circles and that the Government would be loyally supported by all factions.

The new bridge across the Blue Nile between Khartum and Omdurman was opened for traffic on January 16, 1928. An agreement with the Sudan provided for the release of surplus water at the Sennar Dam, the Nile being so low as to endanger Egyptian crops. On March 7, 1928, in consequence of the Egyptian Government's rejection of the proposed Anglo-Egyptian treaty of alliance, the British Government addressed a grave warning to the Cabinet at Cairo, which, according to dispatches, came like a bombshell. The British note was presented to Sarwat Pasha by the High Commissioner, Lord Lloyd, and read as follows: "Now that the conversations with the Egyptian Government have failed to achieve their object, His Majesty's Government cannot permit the discharge of any of their responsibilities under the Declaration of February 28, 1922, to be endangered, whether by Egyptian legislation or by administrative action, and they reserve this right to take such steps as in their view the situation demands." The situation thus created was regarded as very grave and fears were expressed that it would be impossible to form a new Cabinet to face it and that a dissolution of Parliament and the establishment of a virtual dictatorship over the country might be necessary to enable the Government to continue to function.

In his reply to the British note, Premier Nahas Pasha declared that his country could not admit the right of Britain to intervene in Egypt; that Egypt was able to defend the Suez Canal and to protect Britons and other foreigners in the country. The British note in reply reasserted the points in reservation in the Declaration of 1922, insisting that "The Egyptian Government exercises its independent authority subject to satisfying His Majesty's Government on these matters." Another note was sent on April 29 and this was in the nature of an ultimatum against the measure termed the "Assemblies Bill" and demanded that Britain be assured in writing that the measure would be dropped. Nahas again denied Britain's right to intervene, but requested the Senate to postpone the bill to the November session.

With matters between the Egyptian Government and Britain in this disturbed condition, there occurred in June, 1928, a crisis in

the Egyptian political situation itself. The Ministers of Finance and War resigned (Mohammed Pasha Mahmud and Gaafar Pasha Wali). These were Liberals, but their resignations were followed by those of two members of the Nationalist or Wafd Party, of which Nahas Pasha was the head. It developed that the Prime Minister himself and other members of his Cabinet were accused of accepting a bribe in the form of a large contingent fee. The origin of the matter was a difficulty thirty years before between Fuad and a brother-in-law. The brother-in-law was pronounced insane and for years was in asylums, first in Egypt and later in England. In recent years he had escaped, gone to Constantinople and acquired Turkish citizenship. His representatives had engaged Nahas Pasha, Wiassa Bey Wassif and Gaafar Bey Fakhry to take his case and endeavor to restore to the exile (Prince Seif-ed-Din) his enormous fortune. The retainer was said to be $75,000 and the fee if successful, $565,000, with still other sums in certain circumstances. Nahas was not then Prime Minister and Wiassa Bey was not President of the Chamber of Deputies, but the holding of such positions at the time the facts became known naturally aroused public criticism and indignation. The King asked Nahas to resign and when he refused dismissed him. To avoid disputes between the Government and Parliament, the King dissolved both houses by decree and declared elections to be postponed for three years. All this was contrary to the Constitution and was, moreover, playing into the hands of the British. Parliament members declared an intention to meet on July 28, and, though police were stationed to prevent such assembly at the regular place, it was afterward said that they did meet at the house of one of the deputies and that they had agreed to reassemble on the third Saturday in November, the date according to the Constitution for the opening of the new session.

Thus 1928 was drawing to a close with the old Declaration of 1922 still in force so far as Britain and Egypt were concerned. The Constitution remained in abeyance and the King and Ministry (with a Liberal at its head) were in control. The Nationalist Party, headed by Nahas, was stirring the Egyptians throughout the country to a vigorous opposition.

In the neighboring country of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), the Regent, Negus Tafari Makkonnem, was, on October 7, 1928, crowned "King of Kings," to rule jointly with his aunt Empress Zauditu.

Chapter II

ARABIA'S REVOLT. HEJAZ AND NEJD. RECENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST. 1914-1928.

UNTIL the Ottoman Empire decided in the autumn of 1914 to throw in her lot with the Central powers of Europe and against the Allies, Turkey had maintained, at least in population centers and seaports, a dubious hold over Arabia. As Caliph of Islam, the Sultan of Turkey led the Moslem world. But Arabia did not respond to the call of the Sultan for a *jihad*, or holy war. Instead, the Sherif of Mecca, Hussein, was ready to listen to overtures from Great Britain, and that country promised him the independence of the Hejaz from Turkey and control of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Plans for revolt were considered in 1915, but it was not until June, 1916, that the insurrection against Turkish authority openly began. The Sherif desired the title of Sultan of the Arabs, but he was recognized as King of the Hejaz, and, with the defeat of Turkey, recognition by the chief countries of Europe and membership (in 1920) in the League of Nations, his Kingdom of the Hejaz seemed established. His reign was also a period of British ascendancy, and this, together with the fact that he proclaimed himself Caliph early in 1924, led many Arabs to look toward his rival Abdul Aziz III ibn Saud, usually referred to as Ibn Saud, Sultan of Nejd.

Saud was leader of the Wahabis, a stricter sect of Islam. In the years preceding and following the World War, he had annexed to Nejd other territories of the Arabian peninsula. He also had attempted to aid Great Britain in the war against Turkey, but rather ineffectively. In the year 1919, both Nejd and the Hejaz claimed a border oasis and Hussein sent a force to occupy it. His men were completely defeated by the troops of Nejd, to which the oasis was annexed. The Wahabis continued their victories and on October 13, 1924, entered Mecca. King Hussein had already abdicated in favor of his son Ali, who removed his capital to Jidda. On December 19, 1925, Ali also abdicated, leaving Ibn Saud in full control. On January 26, 1926, Ibn Saud was proclaimed King of the Hejaz

and Sultan of Nejd at Mecca. This new ruler, an unusual and forceful character, had been for a long period on friendly terms with the British and had, according to reports, been subsidized annually to the extent of some $400,000 by the British Government. Many of his followers hoped that the Wahabi leader would not become Caliph of Islam, now that the Turkish Government had abolished the Caliphate in Turkey. The former King, Hussein, had had ambitions to succeed to the Caliphate, but when he and his son Ali lost the throne of the Hejaz, they renounced their claims to the Caliphate. It remained to be seen if a Wahabi, even with the control of the Arabian Peninsula, would be recognized as religious leader by Moslems elsewhere.

In June and July, 1926, delegates from many Moslem countries came together at Mecca, where the new King, Ibn Saud, brought forward his plan to have the whole Moslem world unite in guaranteeing the independence of the Hejaz and the preservation and protection of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

This Moslem Congress also discussed the question of sanitation in the principal centers on the route of the annual pilgrimage and made plans for the provision of modern hospitals, nurses and doctors. It was also proposed to improve transportation by joining Medina, Mecca, Jidda and Yambo by railways. But the subject of the Caliphate was not discussed openly at the Congress and later Ibn Saud stated that he did not expect this honor.

In August, the King published a new constitution for the Hejaz. He had, in July, reached a kind of agreement with Yahya, Sultan of Yemen, looking toward a treaty of peace and amity. The King's former capital, as ruler of Nejd, was Riyadh, and he visited this center in December, the first time in two years. In the same month, the ex-King, Hussein, published a "Green Book," in which he called on Moslems to aid him in regaining the throne of the Hejaz and denounced the English for having aided Sultan Ibn Saud in deposing him.

The pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in 1927 was made by a greater number of Moslems than had performed this duty in any year since 1914. The travelers were better cared for than ever before, and the King of the Hejaz showed his strength by protecting them from attacks by Bedouins on the roads between the holy cities and Jidda.

On September 17, 1927, Great Britain on the one hand, Hejaz

and Nejd on the other, exchanged ratifications of a treaty signed in May, in which Britain recognized the complete independence of these countries and their dependencies. Also, the King of the Hejaz undertakes in this treaty to coöperate with the British Government in suppression of the slave trade.

Many Moslems do not look with favor upon King Saud. He and his Wahabis are fanatically orthodox, and since their control of the holy cities they have clashed often with pilgrims from other parts of the Moslem world, for King Ibn Saud has been constantly at odds with those Moslems whom he regards as heretical.

War was declared in March, 1928, by King Ibn Saud against infidel tribesmen in British protected territory. He was emphatic in declaring that he was not making war against Great Britain, but only against the tribes of Islam which do not follow the strict tenets of the Wahabis and whom he considers infidels. These, for the most part, live in territories governed under mandates held by Great Britain. Britain holds mandates for Iraq and for Palestine and Transjordania, and she is bound to oppose with force any invasion of these domains. Great Britain has paid to date some $2,500,000 to the Sultan of Nejd to keep him from fighting his neighboring states. His subsidies were stopped when he captured Mecca, and it was freely stated that his warlike attitude in 1928 was in reality a bid for new subsidies from the British.

While the Hejaz and Nejd are the most important units of the Arabian peninsula, mention may be made of others. The Sultanate of Oman occupies the southeastern portion of Arabia, having a seacoast of more than a thousand miles, extending from El Katar on the Persian Gulf to Ras Sajr on the Arabian Sea. The population is estimated at about half a million, and the area at about 82,000 square miles. The capital, Muscat, has an estimated population of 20,000. The Sultan, Seyjid Taimur Ibn Feisal Ibn Turki, succeeded his father in 1924. The country is subsidized by the Government of India, which maintains an agent at Muscat.

The Imamate of Yemen, between Asir and the British protectorate of Aden, has an area of about 75,000 square miles and a population of some 2,500,000. Its capital is Sanaa (20,000) and its chief port Hodeida (40,000). Its ruler is Imam Yahya Mohammed Hamid ed-Din. The Sultanate of Kuweit, on the northwestern coast of the Persian Gulf is another region subsidized by Great Britain. The area is about 2,000 square miles and the population about 50,-

000. The capital is Kuweit, and the Sultan, in 1928, Ahmed Ibn Jabir al Subah.

Of these Arabian lands it is Yemen that has caused most anxiety to the British Empire. In addition to the independent character of Yemen's ruler, there is Italy to be considered, for Italy has African lands near by and her statesmen have not failed to bid for the friendship of this Arabian country and for the privilege of developing Yemen's resources.

In general, the Arabs, much as they have gained by the results of war and peace, are not satisfied and look upon Palestine and Transjordania as regions that should be unified with them, to say nothing of the French mandate of Syria.

One chief purpose of England in the Near East is maintenance of communications. An important motor transport route begins with the harbor of Haifa, crosses the Jordan Valley south of the Sea of Galilee, and thence crosses the desert to Rutba Wells. From Rutba Wells to Baghdad, the route follows an old trail, that of the Nairn Company, and there is talk of a railway to follow the same route. The British airplane routes in this part of the world are considered of major importance, and one cause of clashing authority between Ibn Saud and the British is found in the air routes maintained over the Arabian deserts.

Chapter III

PALESTINE. 1914-1928

BEFORE Turkey entered the war Palestine had already become a centre for military activity and the polyglot population was not long left in doubt of the belligerent purposes of their rulers. Requisitions for food and supplies began months previous to Turkey's decision to cast in her lot with the Central Empires, and the poor Jews especially were victims of despoilment. After the declaration of war, there was a rounding up by the authorities of all able-bodied men capable of bearing arms and only those who had means could escape conscription. Thus, in Palestine as in other lands, Jewish people were forced to fight for the perpetuation of governments that had oppressed them. It was later that the war tended to strengthen Zionism.

After the attempts of the Turks on the Suez Canal, the British command in Egypt considered sending an expeditionary force into Palestine which had become a strong base from which the enemy could attack the water-way. So far their offensive operations had been repulsed, but there was constant danger of new invasions, which constituted a menace to British control of Egypt, threatened the independence of Arabia and the control of the Suez Canal and Red Sea route to India. It seemed the wisest course for the British command in Egypt to invade Palestine rather than remain on the defensive at the Canal.

Long and costly preparations were made in 1917 after the defeat of the Turks at El Rafa in the Sinai Desert. It was necessary to push the railroad across the barren country and pipe water for the troops, as no water could be found in sufficient quantities short of Gaza and Beersheba.

It was not until the early Fall of 1917 that General Sir Edmund Allenby commanding the Egyptian Expeditionary Force was prepared for a strong offensive movement against the Turks in Palestine, his main objective being Jerusalem. The Turkish army in southern Palestine held a strong position extending from the sea to Gaza to Beersheba. Gaza had been transformed into a modern

fortress, heavily entrenched, and was prepared to withstand a protracted siege. The Turkish line was protected at intervals by fortified positions and Beersheba was covered by elaborate defensive works. The distance between the two places was about thirty miles. The difficulties of transport and water supply having been surmounted by long and patient labor, General Allenby began the bombardment of the Gaza defenses on October 27, assisted by warships of the royal navy and a French battleship. The purpose of this bombardment was to draw the enemy to that sector while an attack was made on Beersheba. Here the Turks were taken by surprise and a strong position was won. About 2,000 prisoners were captured and a considerable number of guns. This victory laid open the left flank of the Turkish position for a decisive blow. Gaza was attacked on November 2, when the British gained all their objectives. Fighting continued for several days, the Turks delivering strong counter-attacks in which they employed all their reserves to break the British offensive. The bombardment of Gaza had continued meanwhile and finally the Turks began a general retirement, the British closing in on their rear guards. These covering troops delivered a spirited counter-attack but lost heavily. At other points there was hard fighting and though the British made considerable captures of prisoners, guns, and ammunition, they did not succeed in cutting off any large body of the enemy. The retreating army had become disorganized and General Allenby decided to press the fighting and a sweeping advance was made that won many towns and Turkish positions.

The situation on the morning of November 13 was, that the enemy forces of about 20,000 were strung out on a front of twenty miles from El Kubeibeh on the north to near Beit Jobrin to the south. The British attack against this line was an entire success, the Turkish forces being cut in two separate parts which retired in broken groups east and north.

The British, in fifteen days, had advanced sixty miles on its right and forty on its left and had driven the Turkish army of ten divisions out of a position in which it had been entrenched for six months. In these operations the British took 9,000 prisoners, 180 guns and great quantities of stores and ammunition.

The Turkish army, now cut in two, had retired partly east into the mountains north of Jerusalem, and partly north along the plain. There was some days' delay until the railway could come

up when the British advance was continued on the main Jerusalem road which traverses the hills from east to west. There were long delays in the British drive owing to the difficult nature of the country. Existing roads had to be improved and new ones constructed to enable heavy and field artillery to be placed in position, and the very necessary water supply had to be developed. The defenses west and northwest of Jerusalem were successively captured, and the Turks forced to withdraw. The city was isolated.

In the night of December 7, the Governor Izzet Pasha went to the telegraph office, discharged the staff and personally smashed the instruments with a hammer. Early in the morning the tired Turkish soldiers trooped in through the Jaffa gate, and through and out of the city.

The Turkish Governor had left a letter of surrender with the Mayor, addressed to the British Commander, and on December 9 Jerusalem was formally delivered to the British.

It is worthy of record that General Allenby had captured the Holy City by tactical manœuvres rather than by bombardment and assault. General Allenby entered Jerusalem on December 11.

The British leader entered the city on foot and left it on foot. The ceremony was simple and free from military pomp; even the troops were subdued as if they felt the spell of the Holy City.

From the parapet of the citadel below the Tower of David a proclamation was read in English, French, Italian, and Arabic, announcing that order would be maintained in all the hallowed places, which would be guarded and preserved and no impediment would be placed in the way of the worshippers therein. After meeting the chief notables and ecclesiastics of the different communities, General Allenby departed through the Jaffa gate as quietly as he had entered.

After the defeat of the Turks in the last days of December when they attempted to regain Jerusalem, General Allenby occupied all the high ground near the city and began preparations for an advance to complete the conquest of Palestine. Jericho was occupied in the third week in February to secure the right flank of the Egyptian Expeditionary Army and the line of the Jordan. Important heights were won in March and Allenby having pushed his lines along the Hejaz road was prepared to coöperate with the Arab army, at that time southeast of the Dead Sea.

A season of torrential rains suspended further operations and held up the advance. The reduced strength of General Allenby's army necessitated some changes in his plans for the campaign, and preparations were made in July and August for a hard drive at the enemy. In September, the army was ready for a decisive and sweeping advance. The whole forces of the Turks were then distributed west of the Jordan, with vital points of communication at El Afule, Beisan and Doraa. The British must gain these posts.

El Afule in the plain of Esdraelon, and Beisan in the Valley of Jezreel were within easy reach of the British cavalry if the infantry succeeded in breaking through and creating a gap in the Turkish defense.

For this reason General Allenby decided to deliver his main attack in the coastal plain. The execution of this operation was entrusted to Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Bulfin, commanding the 21st Corps and four extra divisions, a French detachment, and a few mountain artillery brigades. This force, mainly infantry, was ordered to break through and drive the enemy into the arms of the British cavalry at El Afule. General Chauvel and the Desert Mounted Corps was directed to move along the coast, seize El Afule, and endeavor to cut off the enemy's retreat, while a force was detached to attack Nazareth, the Turks' General Headquarters. General Chetwode, meanwhile, was to block the exits to the lower valley of the Jordan. All these plans were successfully carried out. The Turks were taken by surprise. The battle began by the bombing of El Afule from the air and the headquarters of the Turkish 7th and 8th Armies at Nablus and Tul Keram, which disorganized their signal communications, after which the British infantry advanced under cover of a heavy bombardment. In thirty-six hours the greater part of the Turkish 8th Army was broken, and the 7th was in full retreat through the hills to Samaria where they encountered the British cavalry, and practically both armies were captured with their guns and transports. The British captured Haifa and Acre, occupying Tiberias and the country south and west of the Sea of Galilee. The surrender of the two Turkish armies led to the retreat of the Fourth Army east of the Jordan, and the evacuation of Maan. General Sir Edward Chaytor pursued and intercepted the garrison of Maan. General Chauvel's Desert Corps moved on Damascus and captured the remnant of the Turkish Fourth Army.

In the course of these operations British cavalry reached Nazareth, the site of the Turkish General Headquarters. Liman von Sanders, the German commander, had made good his escape.

The retreat of the Turkish Fourth Army, and the annihilation of the 7th and 8th Turkish Armies, left the road to Damascus open to the British and the Desert Mounted Corps and the Arab army entered the city on October 1.

The remnants of the Turkish armies at large in Palestine and Syria numbered, at this time, perhaps 17,000 men, but not more than 4,000 were effectives. They fled northward, without any transport of the means for acting on the defensive. The British occupied Beyrut on October 8. The Desert Mounted Corps continued to advance and occupied Homs, while on the coast Tripoli was occupied by British cavalry. Aleppo was the next objective.

In the evening of October 25 the armored cars and the 15th Cavalry Brigade reached Aleppo and fought their way into the town. An intense struggle in and around the place continued for some days. Finally the Turkish rear guards withdrew and fled north. While the British were waiting for reinforcements to continue the advance, the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was concluded and came into force on October 31, 1918.

The Christian conquest of Palestine made possible the project of the Zionists to form a nation of the Jews after two thousand years. President Wilson was an enthusiastic supporter of a Zionist nation, and France, Italy and Japan also endorsed Balfour's declaration in 1917, which stipulated that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object."

On June 17, 1919, the Turkish Peace Delegation appeared before the Paris Peace Conference to plead the case of Turkey. It expressed Turkey's willingness to grant autonomy to Palestine. The Peace Conference at this time was not ready to settle the many questions involved in the readjustment of Turkish affairs and on June 29 the Turkish Delegation was temporarily dismissed.

Later in 1919 differences arose between France and Great Britain in regard to their respective spheres of influence in Syria. On September 16, 1919, it was announced that a tentative agreement had been reached between these two powers. This agreement provided that Great Britain, from November 1, 1919, on, was to

evacuate all the territories north of a tentative frontier between Syria and Palestine. It stated, however, that this frontier was to be considered of a provisional character only and that its final outline was subject to modification by the Peace Conference when the future political organization of the Levant was finally settled. Great Britain was to continue to be responsible for Palestine, south of Haifa, and for the hinterland.

The Military Administration set up by the British was ended on July 1, 1920, when Sir Herbert Samuel became British High Commissioner. It was the announced policy of England that all peoples living in Palestine should have equal treatment, that the sacred places of Mohammedans, Christians and Jews should be preserved and that the Jews should be provided with a national home, Jewish immigrants being welcomed into agricultural colonies reclaiming waste land and into special industries.

The Arabs are so much in the majority in Palestine that this plan was the cause of considerable hostility on their part, which still continues. A census taken as of October 23, 1922, found a population of 757,182, of whom 590,890 were Mohammedans; 83,794, Jews; 73,024, Christians; 7,028, Druses; with smaller numbers of Hindus, Bahais, Sikhs, Samaritans, and Metawilehs. Naturally, under the British administration, Jewish immigration increased, but has not reached a large figure. The actual mandate to the British from the League of Nations was not given until July 24, 1922, coming into force September 29, 1923.

Modern Palestine does not contain all the territory included in the Holy Land of Bible accounts. Its present area is estimated at about 9,000 square miles, which may be roughly compared with that of a state like New Hampshire or Vermont. It is bounded by the Mediterranean on the west, and its commerce passes through the ports of Jaffa (population 47,709), Haifa (population 24,634), Gaza (population 17,436) and Acre (population 6,420). The capital and largest city is Jerusalem with a population of 62,578. On the north is the French mandate of Syria; east and southeast is the new country of Transjordania, or Kerak, which the British as mandatory permitted to be organized under Amir Abdullah Ibn Hussein, a son of the first King of Hejaz and a brother of King Feisal of Iraq; to the south are Hejaz and the territories recognizing Egyptian control.

A constitution for Palestine was promulgated on Septem-

ber 1, 1922, providing for a High Commissioner, a Commander-in-Chief and an Executive Council. Until such time as a Legislative Council shall be organized, an Advisory Council appointed by the High Commissioner passes on ordinances. The Legislative Council is to consist of the High Commissioner and 22 members, 10 of whom are official and 12 elected, of which number at least two must be Christians and two Jews. Delay in changing to this form of Council was occasioned by the fact that the Arabs, dissatisfied, refrained from voting. The country has three official languages—English, Arabic and Hebrew.

Since 1922, the World Zionist Organization, with Dr. Chaim Weizmann as President, has been recognized as the chief sponsor of the effort to build up a national homeland for the Jews. The change going on in Jewish economic organization is marked, for a people who have long been middlemen are turning to the soil and establishing themselves permanently there. Villages are well planned; buildings are modern; community life is organized. In 1925, Lord Balfour came to Palestine to attend the inauguration exercises of the Hebrew University on April 1. The new Jewish educational center is situated on Mt. Scopus, which is a sort of northern extension of the Mount of Olives. The University will look eastward over the Jordan Valley, the northern part of the Dead Sea and the hill of Moab, while to the west is the city of Jerusalem with its suburbs. At the time, the great work was only begun, the fine new buildings not yet made, about one hundred students using a private house. The Arabs, who strongly resented the Balfour Declaration of 1917, protested, but did not threaten the visitor.

Lord Plumer succeeded Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner on July 1, 1925. The year was on the whole quiet, though the Arabs complained to the new Commissioner. An industrial depression in 1926 led to a period in which emigration was greater than immigration and caused considerable criticism of the World Zionist Organization and even of the plan for a Jewish National Homeland. In spite of this, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who vigorously defended the Zionists, was able to retain his place as President and was re-elected in 1928. On behalf of what has been accomplished it is claimed that educational and cultural progress has been most notable. The Jewish settlers have established good elementary schools and technical and commercial schools, with Hebrew as the language of instruction from kindergarten to university. A publishing house

has issued some forty volumes of Hebrew works, ranging from important Jewish works of the Middle Ages to modern Hebrew fiction. Periodicals published in Hebrew include a literary review, a law magazine, a medical journal, a woman's magazine. There are attempts to develop distinctly Hebrew drama, and operas and plays are produced in Hebrew.

On November 1, 1927, a new coinage based on the lira, equal to the pound sterling, went into effect. This is divided into 1,000 mils, each about half a cent in value.

There was a severe earthquake in July, 1927, with extensive property damage and some 1,000 casualties, of which number 200 were deaths. Buildings were destroyed at Tel el Aviv, the important Jewish center, and at Haifa.

A new customs tariff went into effect in January, 1928, a feature of which was the reduction in rates on certain important foodstuffs. The country felt compelled to restrict immigration, and was, late in 1928, admitting only laborers with certain guarantees and some others.

In October, 1928, there was a serious clash between Jews and Arabs over the claim of the Jews that the police had interfered with their worship at the "Wailing Wall" on Atonement Day and their demand that they have control of this place of praver thereafter. The Moslems, on the other hand, declare that the "Wailing Wall" is a part of the Mosque of Omar and belongs to them.

Important developments for the Near East are the Mosul-Haifa pipe line; Haifa Harbor, which will be the clearing station for Palestine products and more important than either Beirut or Smyrna; the Dead Sea project to exploit the great chemical resources of the Dead Sea, for which public works are being constructed at the southern end of the Jordan. Another is the electrification project of M. Rutenberg, for which he has obtained concessions.

Lord Plumer's term as High Commissioner came to an end in July, 1928, and he was succeeded by Sir Robert Chancellor.

In Palestine and in the Near East in general, the marked change to be noted with the end of the first decade of freedom from the Turkish Empire is the change of stress from political matters to economic affairs.

Chapter IV

MESOPOTAMIA AND AFGHANISTAN

AFGHANISTAN, since ancient times the gateway to India, has seen in past ages the hordes of Scythians, Huns, Persians, Mongols, the soldiers of Alexander the Great, Tamerlane and Nadir Shah, stream through its passes. Its independent existence dates from about 1747, when Ahmed Shah, on the death of Nadir Shah, established the Durani dynasty, which lasted until 1809. From its key position between the mighty empires of Britain and Russia, it has been a center of intrigue and war, especially with the British in India, who finally followed the practice of subsidizing the Afghans to maintain order. Unsettled boundaries were a constant danger and various commissions settled these—the Russo-Afghan Boundary Commission delimiting and mapping the northern frontier from 1884-1886; the Durand agreement of 1893 dividing the Pathans to the south and east; the Pamir Commission determining the northeastern boundary in 1895 and the Perso-Baluchistan Commission, the western limits in 1905 and 1906.

Amanullah Khan, born June 1, 1892, came to the throne when his father was assassinated on February 20, 1919, and immediately began war on the British. This had amazing results, for in 1921 Afghans and English signed a Treaty of Friendly Relations in which the British recognized the complete independence of Afghanistan.

The ruler and his Queen, Souriya, made an important European trip in the early part of 1928, the Queen appearing unveiled and in Parisian costumes. On their return to Afghanistan, the royal pair began putting into effect a comprehensive scheme of modernization for Afghanistan, which should include government and educational reforms and the unveiling and freeing of women. At the close of 1928, the changes were producing revolts among the most conservative of the tribes of the country.

In the World War, Mesopotamia was conquered by British forces, which occupied Basra on November 22, 1914, and Baghdad on March 11, 1917. A provisional government was set up with the

Naib of Baghdad at its head in November, 1920. An important Arab figure in the World War was the Emir Feisal, third son of the Grand Sherif of Mecca, and he now became a leading candidate for the throne of this ancient land. He was crowned at Baghdad on August 23, 1921. The British garrison has since been gradually reduced and in March, 1927, only an Indian battalion and five air squadrons of 12 planes each were left. Iraq has the dignity of a treaty of alliance with Britain, signed on October 12, 1922. This was supplemented by one signed on January 13, 1926.

The Mosul boundary question affecting Iraq and Turkey was laid before the League of Nations by Great Britain in October, 1924. Following a decision by the World Court that the League Council was competent to fix the Turkey-Iraq boundary under the Lausanne Treaty, Great Britain, Iraq and Turkey negotiated a treaty signed at Angora, June 5, 1926, fixing the boundary along the "Brussels Line," which runs roughly due east from Kamik in Syria on the Tigris to the Persian frontier, with a slight modification. A frontier zone seventy-five kilometers wide each side of the line was fixed and Turkey was granted 10 per cent of the royalties received by Iraq from the oil concessionaries for twenty-five years. In lieu of which, by agreement, Turkey accepted $2,500,000 cash on June 16, 1926, and Great Britain cancelled nearly $5,000,000 of capital debt owed by Iraq on account of roads, bridges, telegraph, etc. The first Iraq Parliament met on July 16, 1925.

Great Britain agreed that in 1928 and each four years thereafter she would present Iraq's demand for membership in the League of Nations. If, however, Iraq wished to terminate the mandate and join the League of Nations, she must assume her own defense and order.

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